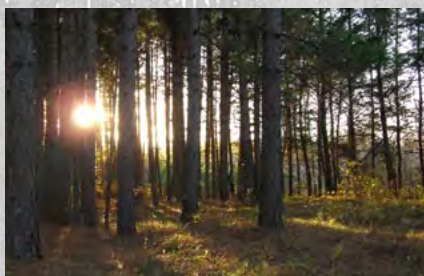# Aboriginal and Non-Aboriginal Collaboration in Forestry: An Inventory of Practices Across Canada

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Peggy Smith | Ron Trosper | Solange Nadeau

A STATE OF KNOWLEDGE REPORT SUPPLEMENT

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Aboriginal and Non-Aboriginal Collaboration in Forestry: An Inventory of Practices Across Canada

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Foreword

The Sustainable Forest Management Network (SFMN) launched the State of Knowledge program to capture the knowledge and wisdom that had accumulated in publications and people over a decade of research. The goal was to create a foundation of current knowledge on which to build policy, practice and future research. The program supported groups of researchers, working with experts from SFMN partner organizations, who reviewed literature and collected expert opinions about issues of importance to Canadian forest management. The priority topics for the program were suggested by the Network's partners in consultation with the research theme leaders. Each State of Knowledge team chose an approach appropriate to the topic. The projects involved a diversity of workshops, consultations, reviews of published and unpublished materials, and synthesis and writing activities. The result is a suite of reports that we hope will inform new policy and practice and help direct future research.

The State of Knowledge program has been a clear demonstration of the challenges involved in producing a review that does justice to the published literature and captures the wisdom of experts to point to the future. We take this opportunity to acknowledge with gratitude the investment of time and talent by many researchers, authors, editors, reviewers and the publication production team in bringing the program to a successful conclusion.

Jim Fyles
Scientific Director

Fraser Dunn
Chair of the Board

Acknowledgements

Table of Contents

ABORIGINAL AND NON-ABORIGINAL COLLABORATION IN FORESTRY: AN INVENTORY OF PRACTICES ACROSS CANADA | FORTIER ET AL. 2012
A STATE OF KNOWLEDGE REPORT SUPPLEMENT | SUSTAINABLE FOREST MANAGEMENT NETWORK

5

List of Tables

List of Maps

8

ABORIGINAL AND NON-ABORIGINAL COLLABORATION IN FORESTRY: AN INVENTORY OF PRACTICES ACROSS CANADA | FORTIER ET AL. 2012
A STATE OF KNOWLEDGE REPORT SUPPLEMENT | SUSTAINABLE FOREST MANAGEMENT NETWORK

1.0 Introduction

The last 30 years have seen a steadily expanding role for Aboriginal peoples in the management of Canada's forests, with increased collaboration between Aboriginal peoples and the forest industry. Such collaboration can occur in many forms, reflecting a range of policy contexts and drivers as well as various goals for Aboriginal communities, industry and government (Wyatt et al. 2010b). This collaboration has been the subject of extensive research, with more than 200 research studies. However, most of the research is case-study based, examining collaboration or underlying conditions within the context of a particular project or a single Aboriginal community or nation. Studies that have conducted broader or comparative analyses of relations between Aboriginal peoples and the forest sector commonly focus on a specific form of collaboration. Hence, Ross and Smith (2002) and Brubacher (2003, 2007) focused on tenure arrangements, Fortier (2007) compared consultation arrangements, Wilson and Graham (2005) examined business arrangements, Hickey and Nelson (2005) concentrated on partnerships and Parkins et al. (2006) considered the effects of policy on socio-economic indicators. Many studies make similar observations: Aboriginal participation in forest management is increasing in all provinces and territories (except Nunavut, which is not a forested area), this participation can take different forms, these forms are often linked to others, and these forms are not evenly distributed across Canada.

> **Collaboration between Canada's Aboriginal peoples and the forest industry has been the subject of extensive research, with more than 200 research studies. However, most of the research has focused on specific case studies.**

Concentrating on a particular form of collaboration or a single community enables detailed analysis but has three important weaknesses. First, because each study is presented within a particular context, it is difficult to draw lessons for collaboration in other situations, involving other parties or in a changing context. Second, a focus on a single collaborative arrangement may exclude the possible effects, either positive or negative, of other arrangements, whether these arrangements were made previously or were taking place at the same time. The existence of such multiple collaborative arrangements has been observed in some situations (e.g. Natcher 2008; Wyatt 2006) but has not been examined in detail. Third, a focus on single communities overlooks possible differences among communities, provinces and territories and trends across the nation. Nation-wide studies of tenure (Brubacher

ABORIGINAL AND NON-ABORIGINAL COLLABORATION IN FORESTRY: AN INVENTORY OF PRACTICES ACROSS CANADA | FORTIER ET AL. 2012
A STATE OF KNOWLEDGE REPORT SUPPLEMENT | SUSTAINABLE FOREST MANAGEMENT NETWORK

9

2003, 2007), policy and business arrangements (Hickey and Nelson 2005; Wilson and Graham 2005) provide useful and detailed information but do not compare forms of collaboration between Aboriginal peoples and forestry companies across the nation. Hence, this study provides an overview of the extent and diversity of collaborative arrangements between Aboriginal peoples and forestry companies across Canada.

> **Concentrating on a particular form of collaboration or a single community enables detailed analysis but also has three important weaknesses.**

This report presents an inventory of collaborative arrangements in forestry in 474 Aboriginal communities in Canadian provinces and territories (except Nunavut). The inventory was undertaken to provide essential baseline information to support two State of Knowledge reports on collaboration between Aboriginal peoples and the forest industry (Wyatt et al. 2010b), and the effective use of Aboriginal land use studies in forestry (Wyatt et al. 2010a). As such, this report is a supplement to the State of Knowledge reports, providing a description of the state of collaboration across Canada, while the other two reports consider issues and provide recommendations on how to encourage collaborative arrangements.

The inventory was mostly based on secondary sources, such as Aboriginal and government reports, Web sites, scientific literature and other documents. This information was supplemented by knowledge from specialists, including representatives of Aboriginal organizations, government officials (such as the now expired First Nations Forestry Program) and university researchers.[1] The data presented here allow us to look at the occurrence of forms of collaboration across Canada and to link these to policies and other context factors, in each province and territory. Identifying the various studies within each province and territory also links researchers' interest to the occurrence of particular forms, helping to identify future research priorities to improve our understanding of collaboration in forestry.

> **This report presents an inventory of collaborative arrangements in forestry in 474 Aboriginal communities in most Canadian provinces and territories.**

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[1] A detailed description of the research method is provided in Appendix 1.

2.0 Approaches to Aboriginal-industry collaboration

An essential preliminary step of this analysis was to classify diverse experiences and forms of collaborative arrangements into five broad approaches. This allows us to compare the frequency at which forms of arrangement occur in each province and territory (except Nunavut). Our classification was initially based on a literature review of published research and other reports and studies (Wyatt et al. 2010a; Wyatt et al. 2010b; Wyatt et al. 2009). The usefulness of this classification was then tested with an inventory of collaborative arrangements used by First Nations in Quebec (Wyatt et al. 2010c). The classification is based on the institutional form of each arrangement (who is involved and how the relationship is managed) and the desired outcomes (such as land claims, economic benefits or control over forest management activities). Although distinguishing among approaches is not always easy, some approaches are better at providing certain outcomes than others. Recognizing the range of options and understanding the differences among these approaches could help Aboriginal peoples, forestry companies and governments to decide how to best meet the needs of each party. Each approach encompasses a number of forms of arrangement, providing a range of Aboriginal control and responsibility (see Appendix 2). The five principal collaborative approaches are as follows:

- **Treaties, agreements and memoranda of understanding**

  Treaties and agreements are usually seen as government-to-government arrangements that establish rules or frameworks for other forms of collaboration. Agreements and memoranda of understanding (MOUs) are also negotiated between Aboriginal peoples and individual forestry companies, or another organization, to clarify how the parties will collaborate on issues. The extent to which power is transferred to Aboriginal authorities is particularly important. We excluded historic treaties (such as the numbered treaties) from our inventory, unless they were accompanied by more recent agreements on forest lands.

- **Land use studies and forest land management**

  Managing activities on traditional lands is an important goal for many Aboriginal peoples, but they often need to negotiate with provincial agencies and private companies to obtain a role in forest land management. For many, a first step is to conduct a land use study or mapping exercise; however, these do not necessarily provide a direct role in land management.

- **Influence on decision making**

  Aboriginal influence on decision making, also referred to as "consultation" or "participation," is becoming increasingly common in Canada and can occur in various ways. This trend provides Aboriginal peoples with an opportunity to contribute to decision making, while governments or industry retain management authority. A key element is the amount of power or influence that an Aboriginal community has on final decisions. Although many provinces and territories have regulated public participation processes that are open to all, our inventory counts only communities where we could identify specific arrangements where Aboriginal peoples participated in consultation processes.

- **Aboriginal-held forest tenures**

  Aboriginal-held forest tenures refer to licences and similar agreements that governments grant to Aboriginal communities and organizations that wish to obtain harvesting rights or forest land management responsibilities. Tenure systems operate within the constitutional framework of provincial responsibility for natural resources. Tenures under provincial forestry legislation do not necessarily reflect Aboriginal rights or title, although they may be seen as an interim or partial means of accommodating such rights. Some provinces, notably British Columbia, have modified forestry legislation to make it easier for Aboriginal communities to obtain tenure.

- **Economic roles and partnerships**

  Economic development and employment creation are important goals for many Aboriginal peoples, particularly as economic autonomy is often linked to political autonomy and self-governance. Business arrangements, contracts and partnerships can provide opportunities for Aboriginal individuals and communities to share the economic benefits of the forest industry.

We classified the types of collaboration in these five categories.

We also identified a sixth approach, **capacity building**, which is essential for the success of each of the others but is of less value if undertaken by itself. It is widely recognized that Aboriginal communities require assistance and support in developing their capacity to engage in forestry, but forestry companies and government agencies often lack the knowledge and skills needed for successful and respectful interaction with Aboriginal peoples.

3.0 Methodology

This inventory was conducted using a "ground-up" approach to identify collaborative experiences for analysis in our State of Knowledge reports (Wyatt et al. 2010a; Wyatt et al. 2010b). It complemented a "top-down" approach of reviewing published literature and other documentary sources. We prepared lists of Aboriginal communities (i.e. First Nations, Métis and Inuit) in the forested areas of each province and territory (except Nunavut). We then used secondary sources (e.g. research studies, official reports, Web sites) to identify the forms of collaborative arrangements in which each community was engaged during 1999–2009. Experts in each province and territory with detailed knowledge of communities and practices contributed to and validated the information we had obtained. Aboriginal communities in the non-forested areas of Canada (i.e. the Prairies, the tundra and urban areas) were excluded from our inventory. Other communities were excluded because we could not find any information about their activities in forestry and forest management. We had difficulties in identifying Métis communities and in collecting information about them; thus Métis involvement is understated in this inventory. Overall, we collected information about 474 communities across all provinces and territories, excluding Nunavut. Despite the inventory's limitations, we consider that it is the most comprehensive data set available for Aboriginal involvement in Canada's forest sector. The method and the data sources are described in detail in Appendix 1.

> **We prepared lists of Aboriginal communities in the forested areas of each province and territory. We then used secondary sources to identify the forms of collaborative arrangements in which each community was engaged during 1999–2009.**

The availability and consistency of information was a recurrent problem, as discussed in Section 6 and Appendix 1. The classification approach described above was crucial in categorizing and comparing data among communities and provinces and territories. Nevertheless, some stakeholders (whether Aboriginal, government or other stakeholders) may disagree with the way that we classified their arrangements. For example, we included co-management as a form of influence on decision making (see Appendix 2), whereas some communities refer to this as an agreement or a treaty. British Columbia, with nearly 200 Aboriginal communities, presented particular problems for obtaining, verifying and classifying information in a consistent way. Hence, in this province, we concentrated our efforts on three

collaborative approaches, excluding the two that presented the most problems (land use studies and management and influence on decision making). The lack of data for two of the categories in British Columbia affected the comparative analyses.

Our goal in this report is to provide a preliminary analysis of the diversity of forms of collaboration across Canada and to explore some of the factors that may influence this. We concentrate on the numerical frequency of forms of collaboration and on comparing this information among jurisdictions (i.e. national, provincial and territorial). We also review particular events and key elements of Aboriginal and forestry policy within the jurisdictions that could help explain the relative frequencies of collaborative arrangements. However, additional analyses are possible. In particular, it would be interesting to distinguish between communities covered by historical treaties (most of Canada) and communities where such treaties do not exist (i.e. Quebec, Newfoundland and Labrador and most of British Columbia). Similarly, collaboration typically involves forest industry partners, and therefore,

policies of major forest companies (such as Alberta-Pacific Forest Industries Inc. or Tembec) are expected to affect the prevalence of certain collaborative arrangements. Recognizing that governments across Canada change regularly, it is probably inappropriate to treat each jurisdiction as politically homogenous and to assume that policies and programs will be implemented consistently and continually. Even though the data collected in this inventory could be analysed in many ways, our objective is to provide an overview of the situation.

> **Our goal in this report is to provide a preliminary analysis of the diversity of forms of collaboration across Canada and to explore some of the factors that may influence this.**

4.0 Collaborative arrangements — national overview

Table 1 presents the relative frequency of forms of collaboration in 474 individual Aboriginal communities across Canada. Given that many communities are engaged in more than one form of collaboration, the totals for a given line in this table can exceed 100 percent.

Table 1. Frequency of collaborative arrangements used by Aboriginal communities* (Percentage communities)

PROVINCE OR TERRITORY	Communities inventoried	FORM OF COLLABORATION				
		Treaties, agreements and memoranda of under-standing	Land use studies* and forest land manage-ment	Influence on decision making*	Aboriginal-held forest tenures	Economic roles and partnerships
British Columbia	164	93% (153)	n/a	n/a	98% (160)	74% (122)
Alberta	44	34% (15)	43% (19)	52% (23)	18% (8)	59% (26)
Saskatchewan	32	28% (9)	41% (13)	50% (16)	53% (17)	66% (21)
Manitoba	50	56% (28)	50% (25)	18% (9)	46% (23)	12% (6)
Ontario	81	23% (19)	17% (14)	33% (27)	33% (27)	62% (50)
Quebec	32	59% (19)	41% (13)	88% (28)	38% (12)	72% (23)
New Brunswick	15	0	13% (2)	0	100% (15)	100% (15)
Prince Edward Island	2	0	0	0	0	100% (2)
Nova Scotia	13	46% (6)	85% (11)	46% (6)	8% (1)	100% (13)
Newfoundland and Labrador	4	50% (2)	50% (2)	75% (3)	75% (3)	50% (2)
Yukon	10	90% (9)	100% (10)	100% (10)	90% (9)	10% (1)
Northwest Territories	27	100% (27)	7% (2)	0	37% (10)	0
Total (excl. B.C.)	*310*	*43% (134)*	*36% (111)*	*40% (122)*	*40% (125)*	*51% (159)*
Total (incl. B.C.)	*474*	*61% (287)*			*60% (285)*	*59% (281)*

*Actual numbers may be significantly higher (see text).

n/a: Two forms of collaboration were excluded in British Columbia to ensure consistency of information.

ABORIGINAL AND NON-ABORIGINAL COLLABORATION IN FORESTRY: AN INVENTORY OF PRACTICES ACROSS CANADA | FORTIER ET AL. 2012
A STATE OF KNOWLEDGE REPORT SUPPLEMENT | SUSTAINABLE FOREST MANAGEMENT NETWORK

15

The three approaches for which information is available for all provinces and territories (except Nunavut) show similar frequencies, in between 59 percent and 61 percent of all communities inventoried. However, this resemblance masks a significant variation both between and within provinces and territories. Furthermore, if British Columbia is excluded from the comparison, frequencies range from 36 percent to 51 percent, and the least common category (economic roles at 59 percent) becomes the most common approach adopted by the other provinces and territories.

Among the three leading approaches that address forest land use, **treaties and formal arrangements** are slightly more common, occurring in 61 percent of all cases (equivalent to 287 communities). However, this proportion falls to only 43 percent when British Columbia is excluded. The Northwest Territories (100 percent), British Columbia (93 percent) and Yukon (90 percent) have the most communities with concluded treaties or agreements with the government (provincial and federal) or, less commonly, with forestry companies. This situation reflects the greater role assumed by the Government of Canada in the territories and the absence of historical treaties in most of British Columbia (Graham and Wilson 2004). In fourth place is Quebec, where an absence of historical treaties has created pressure to resolve land claims. In provinces where historical treaties were signed, more recent agreements are less common. No formal arrangements were found in New Brunswick or Prince Edward Island. Our inventory did not include the historical treaties that cover most of Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta, unless these treaties were associated with new arrangements addressing forestry or forest land management. We did include modern treaties, such as those with the Nisga'a and the James Bay Cree, and land use and management agreements.

> *Treaties and formal arrangements* **are the most common way of collaboration, especially in British Columbia, the Northwest Territories and Yukon.**

Aboriginal-held forest tenures follow closely in second place, occurring in 60 percent, or 285, of the communities inventoried. In third place are **economic roles, contracts and partnerships** between an Aboriginal group and a forestry company, at 59 percent, or 281 communities. This approach is the most common form of collaborative arrangement when British Columbia is excluded. Both tenures and economic involvement are often encouraged by government policies and can provide immediate benefits to Aboriginal communities and forestry companies without challenging government control of forest lands. New Brunswick issues annual volume licences to each First Nation in the province, thereby creating an economic opportunity for harvesting. However, the link between tenure and economic role does not apply in all cases: Nova Scotia communities are all involved in economic arrangements, but only one community holds tenure; in Yukon, most communities hold tenure but cannot exploit forest resources commercially. Contracting for silvicultural and harvesting operations are the most common forms of economic arrangement, but some communities are part or full owners of wood transformation facilities.

> **Aboriginal-held forest tenures** and **economic roles, contracts and partnerships** are the second and third most common types of collaboration, respectively.

The relative frequency of **influence on decision making** is highly variable among provinces and territories and reflects the variety of forms that such influence can take and the difficulty in determining whether formal processes lead to Aboriginal participation. Legal requirements for consultation with Aboriginal peoples are in place in many provinces and territories, including British Columbia, Alberta, Ontario and Quebec. Nonetheless, appropriate consultation techniques are not always established, and there is no evidence that they are always applied. Data suggest that opportunities for communities to influence decision making are strongest in Quebec, at 88 percent.

However, strong policies in British Columbia and Ontario (see sections 5.1 and 5.5) may lead to more consultation processes than we could identify. However, provincial authorities do not provide consolidated information on the way their consultation policies are implemented.

We identified 111 communities that had undertaken forms of **land use studies**. Some of these communities subsequently used their studies as the basis for undertaking greater responsibilities in forest land management, sometimes in association with forest tenure or a formal agreement. This is the case in Yukon, where all communities inventoried had undertaken such studies. Nova Scotia is also active in this regard. However, land use studies are a critical element in negotiating and proving land claims. Therefore, Aboriginal communities sometimes choose to maintain secrecy around their activities. The real extent of land use studies may be significantly higher than indicated in the inventory, particularly in areas where claim processes are still active.

ABORIGINAL AND NON-ABORIGINAL COLLABORATION IN FORESTRY: AN INVENTORY OF PRACTICES ACROSS CANADA | FORTIER ET AL. 2012
A STATE OF KNOWLEDGE REPORT SUPPLEMENT | SUSTAINABLE FOREST MANAGEMENT NETWORK

17

5.0 Collaborative arrangements — provincial and territorial portraits

In this section, we present a summary of information about each province and territory (except Nunavut), linking the relative frequency of forms of collaborative arrangements with the policy contexts particular to the province or territory. We also present the number of research studies that we found describing the forms of arrangement, as a means of comparing research efforts with actual practices. Appendix 3 provides a map of each province and territory (except Nunavut), together with tables listing the types of collaboration, as identified in our inventory, in which each community is engaged.

5.1 British Columbia

British Columbia has 198 First Nation communities, nearly a third of the national total, with an Aboriginal population of 196 000 (Statistics Canada 2008). Aboriginal forest lands (mainly reserves) cover approximately 198 000 hectares (ha) (Brubacher 2007). The province is the most important timber producer in Canada, with 51.7 million ha of timber-productive lands. It had a harvest of 87 million cubic metres (m^3) in 2004. First Nations held tenures of 6 million m^3 in 2006, representing 7.3 percent of the provincial total (Brubacher 2007).

Land claims remain a critical issue in British Columbia, because most of the province was not included in historical treaty-making processes. Accordingly, many claims are under negotiation; conflicts over Aboriginal rights and title result in judicial proceedings, and community members are called by the industry and the government agencies to participate in consultation processes. Supreme Court of Canada decisions in British Columbia cases – such as Calder, Delgamuukw and Haida Nation – have helped define Aboriginal rights across the country, while the *Nisga'a Final Agreement Act* in northern coastal British Columbia (effective 2000) has set a new standard for treaties between First Nations and the Crown.

Table 2. Collaborative arrangements and studies in British Columbia (Percentage communities)

Form of collaboration in British Columbia	Treaties, agreements and memoranda of understanding	Land use studies and forest land management	Influence on decision making	Aboriginal-held forest tenures	Economic roles and partnerships
Communities inventoried: 164	93% (153)	n/a	n/a	98% (160)	74% (122)
Studies in our database: 48	21% (10)	35% (17)	4% (2)	19% (9)	21% (10)

ABORIGINAL AND NON-ABORIGINAL COLLABORATION IN FORESTRY: AN INVENTORY OF PRACTICES ACROSS CANADA | FORTIER ET AL. 2012
A STATE OF KNOWLEDGE REPORT SUPPLEMENT | SUSTAINABLE FOREST MANAGEMENT NETWORK

19

British Columbia's forestry regime has changed significantly over the last 10 years. Tenure reform, beginning in 2003, has aimed to reallocate 8 percent of total forest tenures to First Nations; this reform has contributed to a high proportion of communities in our inventory of British Columbia holding tenures and engaging in economic activities (see Table 2). This expansion in the number of tenures held by First Nations has also been facilitated by the diversity of tenure types in the province, with 12 types specified in the *Forestry Act* (Brubacher 2007). However, tenures held by First Nations are predominantly short-duration or fixed volume licences, in contrast to long-term, area-based tree farm licences held by forestry companies.

Of particular note are the community forest agreements, which were introduced in 1998 to encourage local management and harvesting by Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal communities. In 2003, British Columbia began awarding First Nations' forest and range agreements with a revenue-sharing component. In 2010, the Province put in place an area-based, 25-year First Nations' woodland licence for First Nations that have an interim measures agreement with the Province.

The British Columbia mountain pine beetle epidemic led to increased harvesting (volumes from crown forests rose from 58 million m^3 in 1998 to 78 million m^3 in 2004), which provided new opportunities for Aboriginal communities and individuals to engage in forestry businesses.

Another initiative is the revenue-sharing agreement (interim accommodation agreement), with 32 agreements totalling $41 million signed between 2002 and 2004 (Wilson and Graham 2005).

A revised planning process to prepare forest stewardship plans now requires improved consultations with Aboriginal peoples to identify sites of cultural importance. As well, the "New Relationship" document, signed in 2005, provides for the revision of forest and range agreements to make them more relevant to Aboriginal goals and interests. These initiatives would appear to provide increased opportunities for Aboriginal communities to influence forest management decision making. However, we could not collect and categorize information for all communities, so we cannot comment on the extent of this effort. Finally, government initiatives to encourage consolidation in the forestry industry have proved successful, but these initiatives have placed additional pressure on Aboriginal enterprises that are typically relatively small (Wilson and Graham [2005; 34]).

5.2   Alberta

The 48 First Nations in Alberta have 91 400 Status Indians (Statistics Canada 2008). The Métis population of 85 500 is the highest in Canada, but we could not find reliable information on collaborative arrangements for the Métis or their communities. Timber harvesting in 2007 was slightly more than 20 million m^3, making Alberta the fourth most important timber-producing province or territory in Canada. In this province, First Nations held forest tenures of 1 145 973 m^3 in 2006 (mainly in volume-based tenures), representing 4.7 percent of the provincial Annual Allowable Cut (AAC) (Brubacher 2007).

Table 3. Collaborative arrangements and studies in Alberta (Percentage communities)

Form of collaboration in Alberta	Treaties, agreements and memoranda of understanding	Land use studies and forest land management	Influence on decision making	Aboriginal-held forest tenures	Economic roles and partnerships
Communities inventoried: 44	34% (15)	43% (19)	52% (23)	18% (8)	59% (26)
Studies in our database: 21	29% (6)	10% (2)	33% (7)	10% (2)	19% (4)

Crown lands comprise 89 percent of Alberta, and almost all of the forested lands have been allocated to forestry companies. Reallocation is problematic, especially because few (if any) Aboriginal communities can meet existing requirements for a forest management agreement. These requirements include operating a mill, meeting the AAC rates set by the Province and preparing detailed forest management plans. As a result, Aboriginal-held forest tenures are the least common collaborative approach used by Alberta Aboriginal communities (see Table 3). Instead, communities have sought economic benefits in other ways, with 59 percent of the communities in our inventory of Alberta involved in economic roles, relationships and partnerships with forestry companies (often multinational).

The numbered treaties in Alberta (treaties 6, 7 and 8) protect First Nation people's right to hunt, fish, trap and gather on their traditional lands. However, these rights are affected by the 1930 *Natural Resources Transfer Agreement* (NRTA), which transferred control and ownership of crown lands and resources from the federal government to the governments of Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba (Tough 2004, Ross 2008). Although Section 12 of the NRTA recognizes treaty rights – particularly the right to hunt, fish, trap and gather – the Government of Alberta has argued that the NRTA gives the Province the power to develop and allocate provincial lands and resources to whatever third parties it desires.

The Métis in Alberta benefit from the Métis Settlements that provide a limited land base and access to resources. The Métis also claim rights over other lands; in the Powley decision of 2003, the Supreme Court of Canada recognized Métis hunting rights on a par with First Nation rights. The Government of Alberta established a framework for exercising these rights with the 2004 *Interim Métis Harvesting Agreement*, but this agreement was terminated in 2007.

Some communities – particularly the Little Red River Cree Nation, Tallcree First Nations, Whitefish Lake First Nations and Bigstone Cree Nation – have established co-management and joint tenure arrangements. In particular, Little Red River Cree Nation has had a long-standing involvement in research work through a partnership with the Sustainable Forest Management Network and several universities (Natcher 2008).

Over recent years, the Government of Alberta has provided financial assistance to First Nations to map and document traditional land use and occupation; a little under half of the communities in our inventory of Alberta have undertaken such work. The provincial government has also established several consultation initiatives, including a consultation policy for First Nations and the comprehensive *Alberta Land Stewardship Act* in 2009. Nevertheless, most Aboriginal and industry representatives participating in our research expressed concerns that the provincial and federal governments were not doing enough to resolve issues on Aboriginal rights, leaving the responsibility of resolving them to Aboriginal communities and forestry companies.

5.3   Saskatchewan

Saskatchewan has 141 890 Aboriginal people (Statistics Canada 2008). This province is the home of NorSask Forest Products Inc., owned by the Meadow Lake Tribal Council and Canada's largest First Nation-owned timber transformer. NorSask's tenure is managed by Mistik Management Ltd., jointly owned by Meadow Lake Tribal Council and the Meadow Lake Pulp Partnership. Mistik has co-management arrangements with nine local Aboriginal communities (Mistik 2009). Wilson and Graham (2005) consider that the success of NorSask encouraged the provincial government to adopt a more proactive approach toward other Aboriginal businesses.

In 1999, the Province adopted a plan to double the size of the forestry industry, increasing harvesting to 4 million m³ per year and promoting community participation. The plan proposed reallocating part of the existing wood supply to promote Aboriginal community businesses. The plan also proposed the creation of a forestry research centre with Aboriginal representation on the management board.

The 1999 plan had a significant effect on Aboriginal involvement in the forest sector. In 2006, First Nations held an allocated volume of nearly 2 million m³ per year, representing 24.3 percent of the provincial total (Brubacher 2007). This is the highest proportion of any province or territory, well ahead of British Columbia, which is in second place with 7.3 percent. More than half of the communities inventoried have economic arrangements, and a high proportion also uses other approaches (see Table 4). In recent years, the Government of Saskatchewan has promoted land use studies and mapping; nearly half of the communities have benefitted from this initiative. Other communities may also have been involved in such studies but kept this information confidential for use in land claims processes.

Approximately one third of Saskatchewan's 62 Aboriginal communities are in the southern prairies and were not included in our inventory. Furthermore, identifying collaboration by Saskatchewan's important Métis population was difficult, and the extent of their involvement in forestry is likely underestimated in the inventory.

5.4   Manitoba

In Manitoba, there are more than 60 different First Nations, around 100 000 status Indians and more than 70 000 Métis (Statistics Canada 2008). Despite this important Métis population, we had problems identifying Métis communities and their experiences, so their role is understated in this inventory.

Manitoba is extensively forested. However, the forestry industry is less developed than in most other provinces and much of the potential timber harvest remains unallocated. In 2006, First Nations held forest tenures that were equivalent to 154 000 m³ per year (Brubacher 2007), significantly less than the volume harvested by First Nations in New Brunswick, which is much smaller.

Table 4. Collaborative arrangements and studies in Saskatchewan (Percentage communities)

Form of collaboration in Saskatchewan	Treaties, agreements and memoranda of understanding	Land use studies and forest land management	Influence on decision making	Aboriginal-held forest tenures	Economic roles and partnerships
Communities inventoried: 32	28% (9)	41% (13)	50% (16)	53% (17)	66% (21)
Studies in our database: 12	8% (1)	50% (6)	33% (4)	8% (1)	33% (4)

Table 5. Collaborative arrangements and studies in Manitoba (Percentage communities)

Form of collaboration in Manitoba	Treaties, agreements and memoranda of understanding	Land use studies and forest land management	Influence on decision making	Aboriginal-held forest tenures	Economic roles and partnerships
Communities inventoried: 50	56% (28)	50% (25)	18% (9)	46% (23)	12% (6)
Studies in our database: 2	0	100% (2)	0	0	0

Table 6. Collaborative arrangements and studies in Ontario (Percentage communities)

Form of collaboration in Ontario	Treaties, agreements and memoranda of understanding	Land use studies and forest land management	Influence on decision making	Aboriginal-held forest tenures	Economic roles and partnerships
Communities inventoried: 81	23% (19)	17% (14)	33% (27)	33% (27)	62% (50)
Studies in our database: 23	17% (4)	43% (10)	22% (5)	4% (1)	13% (3)

Although several historical numbered treaties were signed in Manitoba, some land claims remain unresolved. In 1997, 400 000 ha of land were transferred to 19 First Nations under treaty land entitlements (Wilson and Graham 2005). However, some claims are outstanding, including 200 000 ha held by one forestry company, creating significant uncertainty.

A provincial forest strategy in 2002 identified five goals, including "increase co-management, employment and economic development opportunities for Aboriginal communities." (See *Next Steps: Priorities for Sustaining Manitoba's Forests* at www.gov.mb.ca/conservation/forestry/pdf/mb-forests/priorities.pdf.) As a result, forestry companies must consult First Nations occupying land within their licence areas. Our inventory of Manitoba found relatively low levels of participation in economic roles and little influence on decision making (see Table 5). This is partly because the forestry industry is not well developed in many parts of Manitoba, and many Aboriginal communities are in areas where forestry companies do not operate.

In an approach compatible with the 2002 strategy, a group of 13 First Nations in southeastern Manitoba planned to form a partnership with a non-Aboriginal company to establish an oriented strand board mill. The industry partner subsequently withdrew from the project because of concerns about financial returns of the project, but the group of First Nations notified the Government of Manitoba that it was still interested in such a timber allocation. The Wabanong Nakaygum Okimawin planning initiative, formerly known as the East Side Planning Initiative, started in 2000. Currently, 16 First Nations are involved in the multi-party planning process with government, non-Aboriginal communities and other organizations (see www.gov.mb.ca/conservation/wno/).

Enacted in 2009, *The East Side Traditional Lands Planning and Special Protected Areas Act* enables Aboriginal communities to engage in land use and resource management planning for designated traditional use areas and sets aside designated areas for special protection from development (see http://web2.gov.mb.ca/laws/statutes/ccsm/e003e.php).

Some First Nations in Manitoba have focused on establishing protected areas, instead of economic development. In particular, Poplar River First Nation has joined the Canadian Boreal Initiative (CBI), supporting CBI's goal of 50 percent protection for the boreal forest and working to establish a World Heritage Site in northeastern Manitoba and northwestern Ontario (see www.poplarriverfirstnation.ca/poplar_river_chrono.htm).

5.5   Ontario

As Canada's most populous province or territory, Ontario has an Aboriginal population of 242 495 (Statistics Canada 2008) and 139 First Nation communities, of which 81 were included in our inventory (see Table 6). Of the 139 communities, approximately 110 are within the Area of Undertaking (AOU) defined as part of the 1994 Environmental Assessment Board decision on timber management in Ontario (renewed and reaffirmed in 2003). The Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources (OMNR) reports annually on Aboriginal involvement in each of its districts within the AOU. In its 2004/05 report, the OMNR acknowledged that although no Aboriginal groups held Sustainable Forest Licences, "... harvest opportunities are made available through overlapping licences issued to First Nations" (OMNR 2004).

In our inventory of Ontario, 62 percent of the communities studied are involved in economic arrangements, and a third of them hold forest tenures. First Nations in Ontario were offered or allocated an estimated 1.5 million m³ of timber in 2000 (Wilson and Graham 2005), although precise figures were not available (Brubacher 2007). OMNR district managers have promoted specific agreements for contract and silvicultural work and for facilitating access to government training and capacity programs.

For planning and management, the *Forest Management Planning Manual for Ontario's Crown Forests* (OMNR 2004) requires OMNR managers to prepare Aboriginal background information reports and Aboriginal values maps; communities receive some funding to contribute to the development of these reports and maps. Managers are also required to invite Aboriginal community representatives to sit on forest management planning teams, although not all Aboriginal communities choose to do so. We found that a third of the communities are engaged in some form of consultation process, but this information was hard to obtain, and the real extent of influence on decision making may be higher. Smith (2007) notes that Aboriginal communities remain in an advisory position.

Treaties and agreements are in place in nearly a quarter of the inventoried communities. Wilson and Graham (2005) found that 15 settlement agreements had been implemented over the past 20 years, 3 others were being implemented and more than 20 others were under negotiation. Recent changes in Ontario's tenure system made provisions for more Aboriginal involvement on forest management boards to be set up under Local Forest Management Corporations and Enhanced Shareholder

Sustainable Forest Licences. However, First Nation aspirations for a distinct First Nation tenure were not met.

Several First Nations north of the AOU are involved in community-based land use planning as forestry moves into the Far North. In particular, Pikangikum First Nation, through the Whitefeather Forest Initiative, is developing alternative visions of forest land management for its traditional territory (Shearer et al. 2009; Smith 2007). Ontario passed the *Far North Act* in 2010, committing to protect 50 percent of the area and implement community-based land use planning with First Nations, in spite of the objections of Nishnawbe Aski Nation, the provincial-territorial organization that represents the communities in the Far North.

5.6   Quebec

The Aboriginal population in Quebec is 108 430 (Statistics Canada 2008). The province's forestry industry is the second largest, in volume, in Canada, after British Columbia.

Almost all First Nation communities in forested areas are engaged in some form of collaboration (Wyatt et al. 2010c). The presence of 11 Aboriginal nations and the absence of treaties (other than a treaty with the Cree in 1975) contribute to alternative forms of collaboration across the province (see Table 7). Three quarters of all communities in our inventory of Quebec are engaged in economic arrangements, most commonly silvicultural contracting, and two communities are joint-venture partners in sawmills. A third of the communities hold forest tenures, benefitting from changes in Quebec's *Forest Act* in 2001. Quebec's *Sustainable Forest Development Act*, passed in February

Table 7. Collaborative arrangements and studies in Quebec (Percentage communities)

Form of collaboration in Quebec	Treaties, agreements and memoranda of understanding	Land use studies and forest land management	Influence on decision making	Aboriginal-held forest tenures	Economic roles and partnerships
Communities inventoried: 32	59% (19)	41% (13)	88% (28)	38% (12)	72% (23)
Studies in our database: 20	25% (5)	30% (6)	35% (7)	5% (1)	15% (3)

2010 and coming into full effect in 2013, modifies tenure arrangements and expands consultation requirements (Wyatt et al. 2010c). However, some First Nations are opposed to the Act, contending that it does not respect Aboriginal and treaty rights.

Land claims and political negotiations are common but lengthy, and their effectiveness is variable. For instance, the Algonquin community of Barriere Lake has been engaged in a forest management process with the federal and provincial governments since 1991 (Notzke 1995). In the late 1990s, the Cree launched legal proceedings over forestry impacts from the 1975 James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement. Their lawsuit led to negotiations with the Government of Quebec and the 2002 "La Paix des braves" agreement. The agreement established a joint management advisory board, set lands aside for protection and provided $3.5 billion over 50 years for activities, including forestry.

Since 2001, First Nations communities and forestry companies in Quebec have been able to negotiate "harmonization measures" that differ from standard practices set by forestry regulations. Such negotiated measures must be approved by the Government of Quebec before they can be implemented at a local level. Such provisions encourage consultations and relations with forestry companies but do not address such issues as management objectives or Aboriginal rights. Research has been active in Quebec, but most studies have concentrated on Cree communities.

5.7   New Brunswick

Forestry companies in New Brunswick produce about 5 percent of Canada's sustainable yield. The province's Aboriginal population of 17 655 represents 2 percent of the national total (Statistics Canada 2008). In 1998, after the New Brunswick Court of Appeal ruled on the treaty right to harvest timber (Paul case), the Government of New Brunswick allocated approximately 5 percent of total allowable annual cut from public forests to Aboriginal communities (Blakney 2003). As a result, all of New Brunswick's First Nations are involved in forest harvesting (see Table 8). Nonetheless, some communities choose to subcontract their allocations to non-Aboriginal enterprises.

Since 2003, a capacity-building program funded by the federal and provincial governments has trained several hundred First Nation members for employment in the forestry industry (ASEP 2009). However, the ongoing crisis in the industry resulted in wide job losses in the province. Other initiatives include those of Eel Ground First Nation, which obtained Forest Stewardship Council certification in forest management for its reserve in 2005 and engaged in forest-products manufacturing. However, it could not sustain its Straight Arrow Specialized Lumber Products company and relinquished its certification. Currently, First Nations do not own any mills in New Brunswick and are involved in forest management activities only as members of advisory committees.

Table 8. Collaborative arrangements and studies in New Brunswick (Percentage communities)

Form of collaboration in New Brunswick	Treaties, agree-ments and memoranda of understanding	Land use studies and forest land management	Influence on decision making	Aboriginal-held forest tenures	Economic roles and partnerships
Communities inventoried: 15	0	13% (2)	0	100% (15)	100% (15)
Studies in our database: 2	0	0	0	100% (2)	0

Wilson and Graham (2005, p 68) consider that efforts to consult Aboriginal communities in New Brunswick are of a lower standard than those in other provinces and territories. This may be partly attributable to only half of New Brunswick's forests being on public lands and to private owners feeling less inclined, perhaps, to consult Aboriginal peoples on managing their freehold forest lands.

5.8   Prince Edward Island

Few forests, a small forestry industry, little public land and a low Aboriginal population make Prince Edward Island a minor player in Aboriginal collaboration in forestry (see Table 9). Eco-tourism and biomass are being explored as options for economic development. Some traditional land use mapping has been carried out, but the dominance of private land in the province limits its application in forestry.

5.9   Nova Scotia

The First Nation population in Nova Scotia is 24 175 (Statistics Canada 2008), while forest industries harvest about 3 percent of the national volume. Because private lands dominate the forest land base, First Nations have problems of access to forests, tenures and economic development opportunities (see Table 10). However, the Mi'kmaq nations of Cape Breton Island negotiated agreements with forest industries to harvest specific volumes. The Confederacy of Mainland Mi'kmaq also played a significant role in implementing federal First Nations Forestry Program activities in the province, before the program expired in March 2011. In particular, this collaboration has contributed to documenting traditional knowledge about forests and plants.

First Nations do not own any mills in Nova Scotia, and only one First Nation is directly involved in forest management (on land owned by the community). When First Nations require wood for individual use, the Province tries to make it available. Influence on natural resource development is limited to consultation processes, which are open to the public.

Table 9. Collaborative arrangements and studies in Prince Edward Island (Percentage communities)

Form of collaboration in Prince Edward Island	Treaties, agreements and memoranda of understanding	Land use studies and forest land management	Influence on decision making	Aboriginal-held forest tenures	Economic roles and partnerships
Communities inventoried: 2	0	0	0	0	100% (2)
Studies in our database: 0	0	0	0	0	0

Table 10. Collaborative arrangements and studies in Nova Scotia (Percentage communities)

Form of collaboration in Nova Scotia	Treaties, agreements and memoranda of understanding	Land use studies and forest land management	Influence on decision making	Aboriginal-held forest tenures	Economic roles and partnerships
Communities inventoried: 13	46% (6)	85% (11)	46% (6)	8% (1)	100% (13)
Studies in our database: 1	0	0	0	100% (1)	0

5.10 Newfoundland and Labrador

In Table 11, we show collaborative arrangements and studies in Newfoundland and Labrador. However, in relation to Aboriginal peoples and forestry, Labrador and the island of Newfoundland are best considered separately. Labrador has significant First Nation, Métis and Inuit populations. Commercial forestry has experienced a "boom-and-bust" cycle, with harvesting currently limited to local needs. The Innu Nation and NunatuKavut (formerly the Labrador Métis Nation) are negotiating comprehensive land claims settlements with the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador. This has coincided with Innu interest in forestry, resulting in an innovative approach to co-management and ecosystem-based management (Schlossek et al. 2007). The Postville Inuit Community has a small sawmilling company and is possibly the only Inuit community in Canada involved in commercial forestry.

In the island of Newfoundland, the provincial Supreme Court ruled that the Mi'kmaq do not enjoy Aboriginal or treaty rights. Furthermore, forestry companies hold significant areas of public land under licences of up to 99 years. As a result, Aboriginal peoples in the island of Newfoundland are less involved in forestry than those in Labrador.

5.11 Yukon

There are 14 First Nations in Yukon and an Aboriginal population of about 8000 (Statistics Canada 2008). Commercial forestry activities are confined to small volumes (about 20 000 m^3 per year) in the southern parts of Yukon. However, the Government of Yukon believes that 15 percent of the forest lands in the territory could sustain commercial harvesting. In 2006, a single Aboriginal-owned company held a small volume-based tenure of 15 000 m^3 per year (Brubacher 2007).

Table 11. Collaborative arrangements and studies in Newfoundland and Labrador (Percentage communities)

Form of collaboration in Newfoundland and Labrador	Treaties, agreements and memoranda of understanding	Land use studies and forest land management	Influence on decision making	Aboriginal-held forest tenures	Economic roles and partnerships
Communities inventoried: 4	50% (2)	50% (2)	75% (3)	75% (3)	50% (2)
Studies in our database: 1	100% (1)	0	0	0	0

Table 12. Collaborative arrangements and studies in Yukon (Percentage communities)

Form of collaboration in Yukon	Treaties, agreements and memoranda of understanding	Land use studies and forest land management	Influence on decision making	Aboriginal-held forest tenures	Economic roles and partnerships
Communities inventoried: 10	90% (9)	100% (10)	100% (10)	90% (9)	10% (1)
Studies in our database: 22	18% (4)	32% (7)	50% (11)	0	0

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A STATE OF KNOWLEDGE REPORT SUPPLEMENT | SUSTAINABLE FOREST MANAGEMENT NETWORK

27

Table 13. Collaborative arrangements and studies in the Northwest Territories (Percentage communities)

Form of collaboration in the Northwest Territories	Treaties, agreements and memoranda of understanding	Land use studies and forest land management	Influence on decision making	Aboriginal-held forest tenures	Economic roles and partnerships
Communities inventoried: 27	100% (27)	7% (2)	0	37% (10)	0
Studies in our database: 12	25% (3)	25% (3)	50% (6)	0	0

Table 12 shows collaborative arrangements and studies in Yukon. Comprehensive land claims processes are underway in Yukon, and final agreements have been negotiated with 11 First Nations. Under the terms of the *Yukon Umbrella Final Agreement*, the 14 First Nations were given title to 41 595 square kilometres of land. Since 2003, several First Nations have jointly developed strategic forest management plans with the Government of Yukon. Wilson and Graham (2005) consider that five or six First Nations could play a significant role in the Yukon forest sector.

Yukon First Nations have a voice in land use planning through several institutions. The Yukon Fish and Wildlife Management Board is an advisory committee, comprising six members nominated by the Council of Yukon First Nations and six nominated by the Government of Yukon. Renewable Resource Councils were created under the final agreements to enable community members to participate in decision making for resources management on their traditional lands. Finally, three Regional Land Use Planning commissions are responsible for developing land use plans in specific areas (traditional territories).

5.12 Northwest Territories

In the Northwest Territories, there are 26 First Nations communities and an Aboriginal population of approximately 20 000 (Statistics Canada 2008). Despite having 28 million ha of forest land, the forest sector is poorly developed, with an annual harvest of 20 000 to 30 000 m^3. Wilson and Graham (2005) estimate that 8000 people live in areas where industrial forestry could be practised.

The most significant advances in Aboriginal involvement in forestry are occurring in land claim settlements, self-government processes and comprehensive resource management (see Table 13). For example, the *Tlicho Land Claims and Self-Government Act* gives the Tlicho title to 3.9 million ha of land surrounding their four communities (Brubacher 2007). The Tlicho can also influence management over a wider area through a co-management arrangement – the Wekeezhii Renewable Resources Board. Because of the land settlements, all significant ventures (1000 m^3 and more) require First Nations' consent.

Wilson and Graham (2005) note that the Mackenzie Gas Project (including the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline) will probably affect the forest sector in several ways, including consultation processes, clearing and harvesting for construction, economic development and revenue sharing.

6.0 Comparative analysis

6.1 Multiple collaborative arrangements

Most Aboriginal communities are engaged in more than one form of collaboration. As illustrated in Table 14, our inventory shows that three quarters of the communities are engaged in two or more collaborative approaches and 220 communities are using three or more approaches.

> **More than three quarters of the communities are engaged in two or more collaborative approaches.**

Of the 474 communities listed, only 13 (9 in Alberta and 4 in Manitoba) are not involved in any collaborative arrangements.

Table 14. Extent of multiple collaborative arrangements (Percentage communities)

PROVINCE OR TERRITORY*	Communities inventoried	APPROACHES					
		None identified	One approach	Two approaches	Three approaches	Four approaches	Five approaches
British Columbia**	164	0	2% (3)	30% (49)	68% (112)	n/a**	n/a**
Alberta	44	9	11% (5)	32% (14)	16% (7)	18% (8)	2% (1)
Saskatchewan	32	0	25% (8)	27% (9)	27% (9)	9% (3)	9% (3)
Manitoba	50	4	38% (19)	22% (11)	26% (13)	2% (1)	2% (1)
Ontario	81	0	57% (46)	26% (21)	12% (10)	2% (2)	2% (2)
Quebec	32	0	15% (5)	18% (6)	31% (10)	22% (7)	12% (4)
Atlantic provinces	34	0	15% (5)	38% (13)	38% (13)	6% (2)	3% (1)
Yukon and the Northwest Territories	37	0	40% (15)	30% (11)	3% (1)	27% (10)	0
Total (excl. B.C.)	*310*	*4% (13)*	*33% (103)*	*27% (85)*	*20% (63)*	*11% (33)*	*4% (12)*
Total (incl. B.C.)	*474*	*3% (13)*	*22% (106)*	*28% (134)*	*36% (175)*	*n/a**	*n/a**

* Refers to the number of communities from each province or territory included in our inventory, rather than the total number of Aboriginal communities inhabiting the provinces or territories. Our inventory did not include Nunavut.

** Two collaborative approaches were excluded in British Columbia, so *Three approaches* represents the maximum extent of multiple collaboration possible. Accordingly, the total is presented both including and excluding British Columbia.

Our inventory method was conservative and almost certainly under-represents the number of collaborative approaches being used. Any arrangements that were not identified through our sources could only increase the numbers. Similarly, different examples of the same approach (such as two forestry enterprises in a single community or a land use study and a management plan) were counted as a single use of a collaborative approach. Capacity-building arrangements were not included in the inventory. Accordingly, the number of collaborative arrangements is higher than indicated in our inventory, so multiple collaborations are probably more common than we stated.

The simultaneous use of several collaborative approaches suggests that communities do not wish to "put all their eggs in one basket." Establishing a variety of collaborative arrangements enables communities to meet different objectives and provides a measure of security, especially in the event of problems with one approach. It may also reflect a diversity of interests and priorities among members of a single community. However, multiple processes place additional demands on the capacity of a community (particularly on managers), technical expertise and the time of community members. Also, deciding where to allocate community resources and how they relate to the values and objectives of community members could create internal conflicts.

Adopting different approaches may also be the result of external constraints or pressures, rather than internal choices. Government programs and policies may favour certain forms of collaboration, and existing programs could be abandoned with a change of government. For example, the Government of Alberta has encouraged land use mapping and is seeking to involve First Nations in a comprehensive land use planning framework. The Government of New Brunswick, meanwhile, has emphasized short-term tenure arrangements. In British Columbia, the "New Relationship" document of 2005 signalled an important change in direction, while the mountain pine beetle epidemic led to decisions to increase harvesting volumes. Federal initiatives, such as the First Nations Forestry Program (now expired), provide another set of options, as do the interests of forestry companies. Aboriginal communities, faced with uncertainty about the future results and benefits of various programs, may find themselves with little choice but to embark simultaneously on all of them.

> **The simultaneous use of several collaborative approaches enables communities to meet different objectives and provides a measure of security, especially in the event of problems with one approach. It may also reflect a diversity of interests and priorities among members of a community.**

Differences among provinces and territories are significant. Multiple collaborations are most common in British Columbia, with 68 percent of communities adopting all three approaches included in our results. Quebec is close in second place, with 66 percent of communities using three or more approaches. A clear majority of communities in Ontario are involved in only one form of collaboration, usually economic roles and partnerships. Communities in the territories make extensive use of treaties and agreements (reflecting the importance of the federal government in negotiation of these agreements), but multiple collaborations are less common (possibly reflecting poor commercial prospects for forestry). These differences may reflect policy contexts in each province or territory, especially the presence or absence of treaties and the role of the timber industry. However, this hypothesis requires further research and validation.

> **Differences among provinces and territories are significant and may reflect policy contexts in each, especially the presence or absence of treaties and the role of the timber industry.**

6.2 Regional differences

Our analysis concentrated on provincial- and territorial-level portraits. However, this should not be understood to indicate that each province or territory is homogenous and that various forms of collaborative arrangements are evenly distributed across each one. Although we did not seek to identify regional effects in all provinces and territories, the combination of policies, communities and collaborative approaches do illustrate some regional differences. As noted in Section 5, interpretations about the existence of Aboriginal rights suggests that Newfoundland and Labrador should be considered as separate jurisdictions for this kind of analysis. In Quebec, a long history of Cree activism, coupled with forests previously considered as non-commercial, have enabled Cree communities to obtain a bigger role in forest management compared with First Nations elsewhere in the province. Similarly, in Ontario, First Nations within the Area of Undertaking (defined in 1994) have opportunities not available to those outside this area. The Canadian Boreal Initiative, a non-governmental initiative established in 2003 to promote

more protected areas in the boreal forest, may also create a new distinction between communities in the northern parts of several provinces and territories and those further south. The existence of differences among regions and the reasons for them will require further analysis.

6.3 Comparing research and practice

The database compiled for this project included 215 research studies within Canada that described the use of a particular collaboration initiative or approach. Most studies examined a single approach within one community, but some studies analysed experiences across several communities, provinces or territories and, in some cases, at a national level. Other studies covered more than one approach. Table 15 presents the relative frequency of collaborative approaches in these studies, identifying the province or territory where the work was undertaken.

When comparing Table 15 with our inventory of collaborative arrangements (Table 1), we identified significant weaknesses in the research on collaborative approaches. Forest tenures and economic roles and partnerships are the two most common collaborative approaches, used by 60 percent and 59 percent of communities respectively. However, these approaches have been of relatively little interest to researchers, with only 11 percent of studies addressing tenures and 15 percent examining economic roles and partnerships. Researchers in economic and business studies, the disciplines most likely to examine economic roles and partnerships, may be less interested in researching issues of Aboriginal participation.

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31

Table 15. Proportion of research studies examining each form of collaboration (Percentage communities)

PROVINCE OR TERRITORY	Studies	FORM OF COLLABORATION				
		Treaties, agreements and memoranda of understanding	Land use studies and forest land management	Influence on decision making	Aboriginal-held forest tenures	Economic roles and partnerships
British Columbia	48	21% (10)	35% (17)	4% (2)	19% (9)	21% (10)
Alberta	21	29% (6)	33% (7)	10% (2)	10% (2)	19% (4)
Saskatchewan	12	8% (1)	50% (6)	33% (4)	8% (1)	33% (4)
Manitoba	2	0	100% (2)	0	0	0
Ontario	23	17% (4)	43% (10)	22% (5)	4% (1)	13% (3)
Quebec	27	19% (5)	37% (10)	44% (12)	4% (1)	11% (3)
New Brunswick	2	0	0	0	100% (2)	0
Prince Edward Island	0	0	0	0	0	0
Nova Scotia	1	0	0	0	100% (1)	0
Newfoundland and Labrador	1	100% (1)	0	0	0	0
Yukon	22	18% (4)	32% (7)	50% (11)	0	0
Northwest Territories	12	25% (3)	25% (3)	50% (6)	0	0
Total	**215**	**21% (45)**	**36% (78)**	**20% (43)**	**11% (24)**	**15% (33)**

In contrast, the most common approach to research work has been land use studies. The prevalence of these studies may reflect their importance in negotiating Aboriginal rights and title and the willingness of governments and private industry (forestry and other sectors) to fund such work as part of consultation processes (Wyatt et al. 2010a). Furthermore, land use studies are a form of academic scholarship, and anthropology and geography, which are the disciplines most closely associated with land use studies, have long traditions of working with Aboriginal peoples.

Treaties and agreements have also proved to interest academics, particularly those in legal and political studies.

> *Forest tenures* and *economic roles* are the two most common collaborative approaches; however, these approaches have been of relatively little interest to researchers. The most common approach to research work has been *land use* studies.

Table 16. Quebec First Nations participating in research studies on collaboration

First Nation	Studies	First Nation	Studies	First Nation	Studies
Cree	13	Huron-Wendat	1	Maliseet	0
Algonquin	5	Mohawk	1	Métis	0
Innu	4	Abénaki	0	Naskapi	0
Atikamekw	2	Mi'kmaq	0	More than one nation	2

6.4 Research bias toward particular Aboriginal groups

Most research on collaborative arrangements is conducted using a case-study approach and accordingly focuses on a single Aboriginal community or nation. To determine if research activity is biased toward certain Aboriginal groups, we verified the identity of the Aboriginal nations involved in each of the 27 Quebec studies in our database (Wyatt et al. 2010c). As shown in Table 16, the Cree communities are the most studied, accounting for nearly half of all research work. Collaborative experiences of five nations (the Innu, Algonquin, Atikamekw, Hurons-Wendat and Mohawk) have been the subject of at least one, and up to five, studies.

However, we could not find any academic research on forestry collaboration with four other nations – the Abenaki, Maliseet, Mi'kmaq and Naskapi. Nor has there been any work with the Métis, who are often overlooked in discussion of Aboriginal peoples in Quebec. No studies have been carried out south of the St. Lawrence River, and there is a bias toward research with communities in the boreal forest. Only two studies addressed collaboration across several First Nations, examining issues of consultation and dialogue.

> **In Quebec, the Cree communities are the most studied, accounting for nearly half of all research work reviewed. There appears to be no academic research on forestry collaboration with four other nations – the Abenaki, Maliseet, Mi'kmaq and Naskapi.**

6.5 Information availability and indicators

In undertaking this inventory, we found little consistency in the availability of information on collaborative arrangements between Aboriginal peoples and the forest industry across Canada. We attribute this to three main problems.

- More information is available about some types of arrangements than others. Formal treaties and final settlements are documented and generally available, but many agreements and memoranda of understanding are difficult to obtain. Provincial governments routinely provide information on forest tenures (Brubacher 2003, 2007). Other arrangements, such as consultation processes between individual communities and forestry companies, are more difficult to identify.

- Some provinces, territories and agencies are better than others at collecting certain types of information. The federal First Nations Forestry Program (now expired) and some provincial and territorial agencies prepare annual listings of projects that are funded or supported through their activities. These lists provide an accessible source of information but do not include projects or initiatives unrelated to these programs. This created a bias in our inventory toward communities whose activities are compatible with government programs. Communities that implement their own programs or collaborate with local forestry companies, or other groups, were less likely to be included in the data sources that we could use.

- The large number of Aboriginal communities in British Columbia and Ontario made the collection of information in these provinces more difficult, given the absence of standardized lists. We also focused on identifiable Aboriginal communities (usually villages and reserves), so people living in urban and mixed communities, especially Métis, were excluded from our inventory.

Despite the limits imposed by unavailable information, this inventory provides a preliminary assessment of the extent and diversity of collaboration between Aboriginal peoples and the forest industry across Canada. It also highlights the need for developing indicators that can be used as the basis for a coordinated approach to collecting information about collaboration across the country. Such indicators would allow managers to monitor the trends and evolution in Aboriginal forestry and the effects of policies in different jurisdictions. Effective indicators would need to reflect the diversity in Aboriginal objectives and conditions across the country, distinguish between forms of collaborative arrangements (even when these are similar or when different forms overlap) and determine the distribution of benefits associated with these arrangements. Standardizing indicators should not be seen as a means of directing Aboriginal peoples (or their partners) into particular models of collaboration; rather, it is a way of monitoring development and expansion in the roles of Aboriginal peoples in forest management.

> **In undertaking this inventory, we quickly noticed little consistency in the availability of information on collaborative arrangements between Aboriginal peoples and the forest industry across Canada.**

> **Despite the limits imposed by unavailable information, this inventory provides a preliminary assessment of the extent and diversity of collaboration between Aboriginal peoples and the forest industry across Canada.**

7.0 Discussion – Making choices about collaboration

Examining the frequencies of approaches to collaboration across Canada and relating these to policy arrangements in each province or territory (except Nunavut) enabled us to consider how mechanisms and programs can affect choices about forms of collaboration. Choosing collaborative arrangements that are appropriate and effective is essential, not only for Aboriginal communities but also for forestry companies and government agencies. Government programs and industry initiatives may assume that the goal is to facilitate Aboriginal involvement in existing forms of forest management and economic development, but Aboriginal peoples may have other priorities. Collaboration requires that both parties recognize each other's interests and find ways to adapt forestry mechanisms and practices to reflect these interests.

In this section, we consider five issues illustrating the links between policies and collaborative outcomes, all of which require further study:

- Aboriginal adaptation to non-Aboriginal governance systems
- Aboriginal rights, consultation and influence on decision making
- changing roles and uses of Aboriginal land use and occupancy studies
- development of economic roles for Aboriginal peoples in the forest industry
- enhancement of expertise and capacity for Aboriginal roles in forestry

> **Collaboration requires that both parties recognize each other's interests and find ways to adapt forestry mechanisms and practices to reflect these interests.**

7.1 Aboriginal adaptation to non-Aboriginal governance systems

Aboriginal peoples negotiating access to land and resources with governments and forestry companies must usually comply with processes and procedures established by government agencies (Elias 2004). Accordingly, communities have adapted their institutions and governance structures to manage these negotiations, typically establishing a specialized unit under the responsibility of the band council. Treaties, forest management agreements, economic relationships and other forms of collaboration usually adopt similar formalized structures and so help to reinforce them – leading Nadasdy (2003) to coin the phrase "hunters and bureaucrats." Collaborative arrangements in which Aboriginal partners have high degrees of responsibility and control (see Appendix 2) are relatively uncommon in our inventory. Instead, Aboriginal peoples attempt to achieve their goals within a framework that reflects the dominant interests in the forestry sector.

We believe that negotiating collaborative arrangements provides an opportunity to develop governance models that also build upon Aboriginal traditional institutions and management. Instead of simply expecting Aboriginal peoples to adapt to non-Aboriginal governance systems, these systems should be modified to take account of Aboriginal governance.

> **We believe that negotiating collaborative arrangements provides an opportunity to develop new governance models that also build upon Aboriginal traditional institutions and management.**

7.2 Aboriginal rights, consultation and influence on decision making

Over the last two decades, a series of judgements in the Supreme Court of Canada have clarified the nature of Aboriginal rights and title and with it the "duty to consult and accommodate" (see Wyatt et al. 2010b). As a result, governments in almost all provinces and territories have established policies, processes and regulations by which forest managers must consult with Aboriginal peoples. A multitude of consultation techniques (Beckley et al. 2006) are available; our inventory focused on mid- to high-level techniques – such as round tables, advisory committees and co-management arrangements – and excluded low-level tools, such as making plans available for public comment.

We found the highest relative frequencies of influence on decision making in Yukon and Quebec, at 100 percent and 88 percent of communities inventoried. Nevertheless, we found that other, more detailed research raises questions about the effectiveness of the consultation processes in these jurisdictions. In Yukon, formal agreements devolve authority to First Nations, but Natcher and Davis (2007) considered that the "pervasiveness of state management

systems" meant that First Nations governments actually gained little autonomy. Feit and Beaulieu (2001) suggested that in Quebec, government agencies and forestry companies were using consultation processes with the Cree as a way to legitimatize their decisions about forest land management. Further clarification is needed on the issue of effective and meaningful consultation that respects Aboriginal rights and accommodates their interests.

> **We found the highest relative frequencies of influence on decision making in Yukon and Quebec, at 100 percent and 88 percent of communities inventoried. Nevertheless, other, more detailed research raises questions about the effectiveness of the consultation processes in these jurisdictions.**

7.3 Changing roles and uses of Aboriginal land use and occupancy studies

Our inventory shows that a little more than a third of the communities (excluding British Columbia) have undertaken land use studies – the least common of the approaches that we identified. Aboriginal land use and occupancy studies (ALUOS) have their origins in anthropological research initiated in the late 19th century. Their use expanded during the 1980s as a way of proving Aboriginal occupancy of land in negotiation and litigation processes. More recently, land use research has found its way into resource management fields, such as forestry (see Wyatt et al. 2010a for a detailed discussion), conservation, mining, oil and gas.

In our inventory, Yukon has the highest relative frequency of ALUOS (100 percent), because the ALUOS were mandated by federal agreements on land claims and contribute to the collaborative land management system. Nova Scotia, which also has a high frequency (79 percent), presents a different situation, because studies do not appear to be associated with Aboriginal participation in consultation, management or forest tenures. Elias (2004) notes that land managers face a dilemma in relation to ALUOS: The studies contain valuable information, but communities engaged in legal proceedings or negotiations may choose to keep this information confidential, rather than using it for forest management or other purposes. Any attempts to use ALUOS in forest management need to recognize the political context in which the study has been undertaken. Methods of collecting and using the information need to be acceptable to Aboriginal peoples and effective for managers.

> **Yukon has the highest relative frequency of ALUOS (100 percent), followed by Nova Scotia (79 percent). In Yukon, ALUOS contribute to the collaborative land management system. However, in Nova Scotia, ALUOS do not appear to be associated with Aboriginal participation in consultation, management or forest tenures.**

7.4 Development of economic roles for Aboriginal peoples in the forestry industry

The extent of collaboration in economic practices between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal parties is confirmed by our inventory, with 59 percent of the communities involved in partnerships and joint ventures. This is consistent with Hickey and Nelson's (2005) finding of the existence of more than 1500 Aboriginal enterprises in forestry. Partnerships between Aboriginal communities or enterprises and forestry companies are often seen as a way of encouraging Aboriginal participation, particularly in recognition of an absence of experience and capacity.

The allocation of forest tenures by governments to Aboriginal communities or enterprises is also a common way of enhancing economic participation, especially in New Brunswick, British Columbia and Yukon. However, most forest tenure agreements are based on the needs of the traditional forestry companies, rather than those of Aboriginal communities or enterprises (Ross and Smith 2002). British Columbia is particularly active in revising forest tenures and allocations to First Nations, but most of these tenures and allocations are for specific volumes over short-term, rather than long-term, large-area tenures (although changes in 2010 will help First Nations obtain long-term licences). However, securing access or management rights over a certain area may be more important to an Aboriginal community than simply obtaining economic benefits.

Although economic roles and forest tenures are common across Canada, we observed that these arrangements have received less attention from researchers than other forms of collaboration.

> **Collaboration in economic practices between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal parties was found in 59 percent of communities inventoried. However, securing access or management rights over a certain area may be more important to an Aboriginal community than simply obtaining economic benefits.**

ABORIGINAL AND NON-ABORIGINAL COLLABORATION IN FORESTRY: AN INVENTORY OF PRACTICES ACROSS CANADA | FORTIER ET AL. 2012
A STATE OF KNOWLEDGE REPORT SUPPLEMENT | SUSTAINABLE FOREST MANAGEMENT NETWORK

37

7.5 Enhancement of expertise and capacity for Aboriginal roles in forestry

Although our inventory did not include capacity-building arrangements as a form of collaboration, a large number of policies and programs help Aboriginal people to develop forestry-oriented skills. These programs include the federal First Nations Forestry Program (1996–2011), the Economic Capacity Building Program of the Aboriginal Economic Partnerships Branch in Alberta, and the Aboriginal Skills and Employment Partnership (ASEP) program in New Brunswick (2004–2008).

However, training and capacity development programs are not always linked to Aboriginal objectives or ongoing opportunities, so Aboriginal people may be trained for logging jobs instead of management positions. Stevenson and Perreault (2008) suggest that capacity building be closely linked to Aboriginal perspectives and needs, posing the key questions of "Capacity for what?" and "Capacity for whom?" We also believe that forestry companies and government agencies need to develop their capacity for addressing Aboriginal concerns and using Aboriginal knowledge.

Currently, many policies and programs help Aboriginal people to develop forestry-oriented skills. These programs, however, should be more closely linked to Aboriginal perspectives and needs.

8.0 Conclusion

This study was undertaken to provide essential background information for two State of Knowledge reports: one looking at collaboration between Aboriginal peoples and forestry companies in Canada (Wyatt et al. 2010b) and the other examining the effective use of Aboriginal land use and occupation studies in forest land management (Wyatt et al. 2010a). Published reports, research results, anecdotes and personal experiences have shown that Aboriginal communities are active in the forest sector in various ways. Soon after starting this study, however, we realized that comprehensive, consistent and reliable information was difficult to find.

Accordingly, we developed a classification system to identify the types of collaboration between Aboriginal peoples and the forest industry in individual communities. The result is an inventory of 474 communities, representing almost all Aboriginal communities in forested areas across Canada. This study is the first attempt to produce such an inventory, providing a wealth of information that makes it easier to understand Aboriginal experiences in forestry in Canada.

The most striking conclusion is the surprising diversity of collaborative arrangements and practices across the country and how they differ in each province and territory (except Nunavut). Approximately 60 percent of the communities have adopted the three most common approaches (treaties and formal arrangements; Aboriginal-held forest tenures; and economic roles, contracts and partnerships). However, values for each approach within particular provinces or territories may be as low

as 0 percent or as high as 100 percent. We attempted to associate these differences with policy contexts within each province and territory (which differ significantly), but further detailed work is needed on this topic.

Some provinces and territories have emphasized certain approaches for Aboriginal involvement, such as granting forest tenures or funding land use mapping, while ignoring other options. Such emphasis is reflected in the frequency of adopting specific collaborative arrangements. Paying greater attention to differences among provinces and territories helps to identify policy instruments that are particularly effective in promoting Aboriginal involvement, as well as policy instruments that have limited value or produce negative results.

Because this is a first attempt to create such an inventory, there are weaknesses in our data sources, in the methods used and probably in our interpretation of the results. Nevertheless, this inventory demonstrates the extent and diversity of collaborative arrangements in Aboriginal communities across Canada and provides a foundation for the deeper discussion and analysis contained in the two Sustainable Forest Management Network's State of Knowledge reports mentioned above. Developing a typology of collaborative approaches clarify the options available to Aboriginal communities, forestry companies and government agencies; it may also help to identify indicators for monitoring future developments. The data from this inventory could guide future research on collaborative arrangements, particularly where researchers

appear to have overlooked approaches in specific Aboriginal communities. The study could also serve as a baseline for measuring future expansion in Aboriginal involvement in forestry. The difficulty in obtaining some information means that we probably overlooked some examples of collaboration, so actual numbers can only be higher than those provided here.

We hope that this study will help Aboriginal peoples, forest managers and scholars recognize the diversity of collaborative practices involving Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal actors in Canada's forest sector. We also hope that it will help Aboriginal communities that wish to become more engaged in forestry, along with their potential partners, make more informed decisions about which collaborative approach(es) could meet their particular needs.

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ABORIGINAL AND NON-ABORIGINAL COLLABORATION IN FORESTRY: AN INVENTORY OF PRACTICES ACROSS CANADA | FORTIER ET AL. 2012
A STATE OF KNOWLEDGE REPORT SUPPLEMENT | SUSTAINABLE FOREST MANAGEMENT NETWORK

43

10.0 Appendices

Appendix 1 Methodology

The methodology for this study adopted a "ground-up" approach to identifying cases for analysis in our State of Knowledge reports (Wyatt et al. 2010a; Wyatt et al. 2010b), and it complemented our "top-down" literature searches. The objective of the study was to assess the diversity and extent of forms of arrangements linking Aboriginal communities with forest land management. We adopted a national perspective that would enable us to identify initiatives that were not described in the published literature (academic, governmental and institutional). We also sought to validate an analysis and typology derived from the literature against observed cases, particularly to determine if results of academic research reflect trends in practice. Finally, we limited the listing to 1999–2009 to ensure consistency in our data sources. We did not include collaborative arrangements before 1999, nor did we consider how arrangements may have evolved within the last 10 years.

Information was obtained from secondary sources (detailed below), instead of through direct contact with communities. Student research assistants at universities in various provinces collected information and then the lead author of this report compiled and coded it. The methodology followed four steps:

1) Establish a listing of Aboriginal (First Nation, Métis and Inuit) communities in each province and territory (except Nunavut), organized by nation groups (e.g. Cree, Algonquin), but exclude communities in non-forested areas (urban, prairies, agricultural areas and the Far North). This list of communities was established from the Web site at www.aboriginalcanada.gc.ca. The Web sites of Aboriginal band and tribal councils helped us link the tribal councils to the band councils they represent.

2) Identify collaboration, harmonization and mapping experiences for each community on the list. Electronic and printed data sources were searched for projects, studies, partnerships, research, etc. Data sources included "grey literature," such as Internet sites and reports by Aboriginal associations and government agencies (as detailed on page 51).

3) Compile and code the identified experiences in a database file and on provincial and territorial maps. Information collected included the community name, the province or territory, the tribal council or association, the name of the case, a brief description of the experience or collaborative arrangement and the source of information. Each experience was classified into one (or several) of the five principal approaches and into subcategories, if possible.

4) Have the list validated by local experts who had a detailed knowledge of Aboriginal involvement in forestry in the province or territory, usually representatives of Aboriginal associations or of a government agency. Research assistants contacted these experts, gave them a copy of the list and asked them to validate the information and to provide information on any missing experiences. Typically, two or three experts were contacted in each province and territory, which meant that 20 experts contributed to the study.

ABORIGINAL AND NON-ABORIGINAL COLLABORATION IN FORESTRY: AN INVENTORY OF PRACTICES ACROSS CANADA | FORTIER ET AL. 2012
A STATE OF KNOWLEDGE REPORT SUPPLEMENT | SUSTAINABLE FOREST MANAGEMENT NETWORK

47

Some communities were, or had been, involved in many projects, so we concentrated on projects that were well documented and represented different types of collaboration (given that our objective was to determine the extent and diversity of arrangements). The availability of information about each community and its experiences varied greatly. For some communities, all necessary information was available in publications or on their Web sites. For other communities, only limited information was available, such as the name of a project in the financial report of a government agency or a written agreement to establish a certain process (without further information on implementing the process). To ensure efficiency, research assistants were directed to spend no more than one hour researching each community and preparing the report on it. Exceptions were made when broad policy-based consultations on forest and land management or Aboriginal-government consultations and negotiations could affect a number of communities.

The main criteria used to select cases were as follows:

- Who: The case involves at least one Aboriginal group and another non-Aboriginal group.

- What: The case is "place based," with a defined territorial location that includes forests managed and harvested for industrial purposes.

- Where: The case took place in Canada.

- When: The case occurred between 1999 and 2009 and may be either completed or ongoing.

- Case information: Information about the case is available.

Development and validation of the method

The inventory described in this study is the first attempt to evaluate the extent and diversity of Aboriginal involvement in forestry across Canada. As such, we sought to develop and refine a method that could combine data from multiple sources to capture the diversity of collaboration and to be reliable enough to allow analysis and interpretation. Accordingly, we adopted an iterative approach to developing, validating

and refining our method. We began with a literature review to establish the diversity of various forms of engagement. This was followed by a workshop involving representatives of First Nations, government agencies and the forest industry and researchers who developed the first version of this typology. The utility of the typology was then tested by classifying the experiences of 34 First Nation communities in Quebec (where several members of the team were based). This enabled us to identify information sources and to refine categories. The inventory was then extended to 147 communities in Saskatchewan, Ontario and the Atlantic provinces and finally to the rest of the provinces and territories (except Nunavut). In all, 474 communities formed the inventory.

Identifying Aboriginal "communities"

This study is based on information about individual Aboriginal communities; however, "community" is a concept that is subject to academic debate. This report did not seek to review the use of the term in the context of Aboriginal peoples, but we recognized that even though communities are often defined by geographical location, a community may also reflect people who have other things in common, such as interests or identity (Crow 2007). In our research, we identified communities based on geographic location, often a reserve under the *Indian Act*, and a political administrative structure, such as a band council. This approach effectively excluded Aboriginal people who live within non-Aboriginal communities, such as urban areas or integrated communities, potentially creating a bias against the inclusion of the Métis in the study.

Aboriginal community involvement in a collaborative arrangement typically occurs through the actions of an organization or institution; it is this actor who negotiates and undertakes the collaboration, rather than the individuals who compose the community. We noted four distinct types of "Aboriginal actors." First, band councils generally represent a single community (e.g. Deline Dene Band Council, Northwest Territories). Second, tribal councils (e.g. Confederacy of Mainland

Mi'kmaq, Nova Scotia) represent several band councils or community governments. Third, some band or tribal councils own companies that undertake forestry-related activities (e.g. Mistik Management Ltd., Saskatchewan). They are considered a type of actor because they are not necessarily managed directly by the Chief and councillors of the band/tribal council. Finally, private companies owned by individual Aboriginal members of a community are an actor. Hence, when we affirm that a community participates in a particular type of collaboration, this could be occurring through any of these Aboriginal actors.

Data sources

Treaties, agreements and memoranda of understanding

Web sites of federal and provincial government departments and of Aboriginal organizations (band councils, tribal councils, treaty organizations, etc.) were the principal source of information. Only agreements containing clauses about Aboriginal participation in forest management were inventoried, including some agreements-in-principle and final agreements (e.g. Agreement Concerning a New Relationship (Paix des braves) Between the Government of Quebec and the Crees of Quebec).

Mapping and land use studies

A systematic review of bibliographies provided by researchers involved in the study identified more than 320 studies and articles on mapping and land use studies, harmonization and collaboration processes. Reports prepared by government programs that have provided financial assistance for mapping and land use studies, such as the federal First Nations Forestry Program (now expired) and the programs of the Alberta government, also contained information about communities that had undertaken such studies. However, information about land use studies is not necessarily available because some communities maintain strict confidentiality to keep information for future use in legal proceedings or political negotiations.

Aboriginal-held forest tenures

Provincial natural resources departments often provide a public listing of timber allocations and forest tenures on their Web sites. We searched these lists to identify organizations and businesses that identify themselves as Aboriginal, such as Michipicoten First Nation Lumber Mill in Ontario, or have headquarters in an Aboriginal community or Indian reserve, such as Les Industries Piékouagame Inc in Mashteuiatsh, Quebec. Two recent reports (Brubacher 2003, 2007) provide an analysis of Aboriginal-held forest tenures across Canada.

Economic roles and partnerships

Various sources provide information on Aboriginal economic involvement in the forestry industry, but no centralized listing exists. Annual reports and Web sites of Aboriginal organizations, government agencies and forestry companies often provide information about success stories of Aboriginal enterprises, particularly when they are engaged in partnerships. Some Aboriginal organizations (including the National Aboriginal Forestry Association [NAFA]) maintain Web sites that list Aboriginal-controlled businesses, but these listings are rarely complete. In our study, forest tenures held by an Aboriginal community or enterprise were treated as an indication of an economic role, as was government funding for economic development projects in forestry and for forest industry training. We did not seek to identify each contractual arrangement. Instead, we wanted to identify the presence of organizations or experiences that indicated economic roles. Wilson and Graham (2005) estimated that there are more than 1500 Aboriginal enterprises involved in forestry across Canada, but they did not break this number down to individual communities.

Influence on decision making

Over the last decade, public consultation has become an important part of forest management processes across Canada. However, it remains difficult to determine whether a given process enables Aboriginal peoples to influence decision making. Legislation or policy in most provinces and territories obliges forest managers (industry and government) to consult Aboriginal communities and/or the public. However, we did not assume that this

ABORIGINAL AND NON-ABORIGINAL COLLABORATION IN FORESTRY: AN INVENTORY OF PRACTICES ACROSS CANADA | FORTIER ET AL. 2012
A STATE OF KNOWLEDGE REPORT SUPPLEMENT | SUSTAINABLE FOREST MANAGEMENT NETWORK

49

implied that all Aboriginal communities were consulted or that consultation processes met the Crown's legal duty to consult and accommodate. Instead, we searched community and organizational Web sites, reviewed the requirements of formal agreements and relied upon our key experts to identify processes in which Aboriginal communities were clearly involved.

Policy context

Finally, we analysed the frequency of different collaborative arrangements in each province and territory relative to critical elements of government policy and other contextual factors. The principal source for this information was Wilson and Graham's (2005) review of the legal and policy context for partnerships between First Nations and the forest industry. Other published research (see Section 9, References) provided additional information.

Limits of the study

A broad-ranging inventory, with multiple data sources, and a new classification system required us to acknowledge the limitations of our study and methodology. Seven major limitations were identified through the research process.

1) *Exploratory approach*. Both our typology of collaborative arrangements and our inventory technique are first attempts at capturing a wide variety of experiences across Canada. We collected, standardized and validated information to the fullest extent possible. We recognize that further research may lead to modifications to our approach.

2) *Lack of information*. Not all provinces and territories collect information about Aboriginal roles in forestry, even though they have agreed, through the Canadian Council of Forest Ministers, to report on criteria and indicators of sustainable forest management that include Aboriginal involvement. No single province or territory provided information about all the types of collaboration identified in this report. Although we used multiple sources to try and find information for all forms of collaboration, we were not always successful.

3) *Lack of standardization*. In the absence of any recognized standards, provinces, territories and organizations collect information through their own approaches. We tried to adapt information sources into the categories of our typology, but the information available did not always allow us to distinguish between two (or more) similar categories (e.g. consultation and co-management).

4) *Overlapping and fine-tuning of categories*. As a preliminary typology, we found that some types of collaboration could be classified under two or more categories. We used these cases to help us clarify the definitions for each of our categories. However, it is likely that with the further use of this typology, new cases that overlap categories could be identified.

5) *Bias in information availability*. Some types of information were easier to collect than others; therefore, some categories may be overrepresented in our study. For example, information about tenures was collected in a nation-wide study by NAFA and is often available on government Web sites. In contrast, there is no equivalent listing of all Aboriginal enterprises involved in forestry (although some provinces and territories have published lists of Aboriginal businesses). Similarly, land use studies are often considered confidential and are not necessarily identified by the provinces, territories, communities or other organizations (Elias 2004).

6) *Difference between "on-paper" and "in-practice."* Some types of collaboration may be documented in official lists, legislations or agreements without actually being implemented. For example, a forest tenure may have been granted to a community that subsequently can not harvest the timber due to economic conditions, lack of capacity or another reason. We could not systematically identify such cases. This means that the actual effectiveness of a certain policy could be lower than expected, based on the available information.

7) *Under-representation of the Métis*. We could identify collaborative arrangements in only 21 Métis communities (in Alberta). Government agencies in many provinces and territories provide even less information on Métis involvement in forestry than they do for First Nations. Given that the Canadian Métis population is nearly 400 000 (Statistics Canada 2008), it seems likely that we under-represented Métis involvement in the forest sector.

ABORIGINAL AND NON-ABORIGINAL COLLABORATION IN FORESTRY: AN INVENTORY OF PRACTICES ACROSS CANADA | FORTIER ET AL. 2012
A STATE OF KNOWLEDGE REPORT SUPPLEMENT | SUSTAINABLE FOREST MANAGEMENT NETWORK

51

Appendix 2 Approaches for collaboration

This appendix describes each of our five approaches for collaboration between Aboriginal peoples and the forest industry and presents a table with the forms of collaborative arrangements within each approach. These tables generally reflect the degree of Aboriginal control and responsibility, from high (*top of the table*) to low (*bottom of the table*). The tables also indicate whether each form of collaboration is used mainly by Aboriginal peoples (*Abor*), government agencies (*Gov*) and/or forest industries (*Indust*).

Treaties, agreements and memoranda of understanding

Treaties and agreements have long been used to establish the formal framework for relations among Aboriginal peoples, government and companies. Although often seen as government-to-government arrangements, they can also include memoranda of understanding (MOUs) and agreements with enterprises. Such arrangements typically seek to clarify the rights of each party and establish how they will work together.

An important element is the extent to which power is transferred to Aboriginal authorities (see Table 17). The categories of arrangements range from comprehensive settlements that provide Aboriginal peoples with extensive powers of self-governance and land management (e.g. the Nisga'a Final Agreement in British Columbia [Rynard 2000]), to MOUs on more limited activities, such as the protection of hunting sites during harvesting operations.

Treaties and higher level agreements typically address rights and policy issues, establishing the basic conditions for other approaches, and occur at a government-to-government level (Aboriginal governments and federal or provincial governments). They may also provide information about the way revenue and benefits are shared or about consultation processes.

MOUs and similar agreements between Aboriginal peoples and individual forestry companies or other organizations can define how the parties collaborate on various issues. These issues can includes access, employment and training, use of Aboriginal knowledge, revenue sharing, and economic development measures.

Treaties, agreements and MOUs are often created from negotiations or judicial actions that seek to share power and responsibility among governments, Aboriginal peoples and forestry companies.

Table 17. Treaties, agreements and memoranda of understanding

Form of collaborative arrangement	Principal characteristics (main user of form of collaboration)
Treaties and comprehensive settlements	Aboriginal peoples exercise governance powers, access to lands and resources and the ability to control use by others. (*Abor & Gov*)
Land and resource management agreements	Decision making and management are shared between Aboriginal peoples and either governments or industry. (*Abor, Gov & Indust*)
Forest sector-specific agreements and MOUs*	Agreements to define issues of access or decision making within a specific sector, such as forestry. (*Abor, Gov & Indust*)
MOUs on specific cases or situations	Agreements to address a specific issue, such as hunting practices or forest harvesting of a particular area. (*Abor, Gov & Indust*)

* MOUs = memoranda of understanding
Abor = Aboriginal peoples
Gov = government agencies
Indust = forest industries

Note: The degree of Aboriginal control and responsibility ranges from high (*top of the table*) to low (*bottom of the table*).

Table 18. Involvement in forest land planning, management and land use mapping

Form of collaborative arrangement	Principal characteristics (main user of form of collaboration)
Aboriginal land use planning and management	Land management by Aboriginal peoples, including goal setting, institutions and decisions about activities. (*Abor, Gov & Indust*)
Comprehensive planning	Aboriginal planning addressing Aboriginal goals, values and knowledge, as well as the rights of other resource users. (*Abor, Gov & Indust*)
Limited management planning	Aboriginal peoples undertaking certain planning tasks under control of a non-Aboriginal manager. (*Abor & Indust, possibly Gov*)
Management activities	Various activities in accordance with a forest management plan prepared by a non-Aboriginal manager. (*Abor & Indust, possibly Gov*)
Aboriginal land use and occupation maps and studies	Mapping and documenting knowledge and use of the land to contribute to management planning. (*Abor, Gov & Indust*)
Documentation and/or sharing of traditional knowledge	Limited studies of Aboriginal knowledge, with little potential for protecting Aboriginal values in management. (*Abor, Gov & Indust*)

Land use studies and forest land management

Managing activities on traditional lands is an important goal for many Aboriginal peoples. These activities include traditional practices, resource management and commercial development of natural resources. However, most forest lands in Canada are managed by government agencies or by private companies to whom governments have allocated harvesting and management rights. Aboriginal peoples seeking to obtain a role in forest land management must negotiate with provincial or territorial agencies or even with private companies to determine the extent to which they can be involved.

The degree of control that Aboriginal peoples exercise over forest management activities varies (see Table 18). Full Aboriginal management represents the ideal for most communities but is rare in practice. Aboriginal traditional knowledge is likely used in all forms of collaboration and may involve land use studies and/or mapping (see Wyatt et al. 2010a for a detailed discussion). However, Aboriginal peoples can exercise little or no power when they are expected to simply provide information (e.g. to non-Aboriginal managers) and not be responsible for planning or management.

Influence on decision making

Governments across Canada have established various consultation processes that enable Aboriginal peoples to influence decisions about forest management. This approach is distinct from the preceding one (Aboriginal involvement in management) because it typically assumes that governments and/or companies will continue to be responsible for managing forest lands.

Influence on decision making, also referred to as "consultation" or "participation," can occur in a wide variety of ways (Beckley et al. 2006). A key element is the amount of power or influence that an Aboriginal community has on final decisions (Berkes et al. 1991). This power may range from full decision-making

authority to simply providing information without much decision-making influence (see Table 19). We included co-management here, rather than with the preceding approach, to emphasize the decision-making role of co-management arrangements as distinct from the implementation aspect of forest management.

While "consultation" processes are increasingly common, Aboriginal peoples stress that consultation should be "meaningful" and not just a formality. Supreme Court of Canada decisions have outlined criteria by which to judge "meaningful" consultation. Consultation should enable effective and equal participation by Aboriginal peoples and should lead to decisions that take into account their views (Ross and Smith 2003). Also, the formal allocation of power does not always ensure real influence on decision making. An open-minded advisory committee may be more responsive to Aboriginal concerns than a formal co-management board with a strict mandate.

Finally, there are different arenas for decision making, depending upon the scope of the decisions and the institutions and authorities involved. Discussions about land rights occur in a policy arena and should involve high-level negotiators, while disputes over harvesting guidelines are related to operational management and may best be resolved by forestry professionals from each party.

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A STATE OF KNOWLEDGE REPORT SUPPLEMENT | SUSTAINABLE FOREST MANAGEMENT NETWORK

55

Table 19. Aboriginal influence on decision making: forms, degrees and arenas

Form and degree of influence on decision making

Form of collaborative arrangement	Principal characteristics (main user of form of collaboration)
Autonomy	Aboriginal peoples have full decision-making authority, possibly exercising this through customary rules and institutions. (*Abor & Gov*)
Delegated authority	Decision-making authority is delegated to Aboriginal peoples, subject to a framework established by government. (*Abor & Gov*)
Joint decision making and co-management boards	Decisions are made jointly by Aboriginal and other stakeholders. Representation is usually, but not always, equal. (*Abor & Gov, possibly Indust*)
Advisory, multi-party round tables	Aboriginal and other stakeholders participate in discussions, without decision-making powers. (*Abor, Gov & Indust*)
Exchanging information	Managers and Aboriginal communities exchange information about proposals, concerns and activities. (*Abor, Gov & Indust*)
Providing information	Managers provide information about their plans and activities. Aboriginal people may provide their comments. (*Abor, Gov & Indust*)

Arena for decision making

Form of collaborative arrangement	Principal characteristics (main user of form of collaboration)
Policy setting	Developing and influencing government policies; establishing the framework and scope of management. (*Abor & Gov*)
Planning	Management planning over the medium term; zoning and determining permitted activities. (*Abor & Gov & Indust*)
Operational management	Implementing management plans and administering day-to-day operations. (*Abor & Indust*)

Aboriginal-held forest tenures

Forest tenures are the licences, regulations, and agreements that governments use to define the rights and obligations of parties that wish to harvest publicly owned forests. Traditionally allocated to forestry companies, forest tenures are increasingly being granted to Aboriginal Nations and Aboriginal organizations that wish to obtain harvesting rights or management responsibilities on public forest lands (see Table 20). Most types of tenure are granted for timber harvesting; other purposes include harvesting of non-timber forest products (NTFPs) and carbon offsets. Tenure systems operate within the legal frameworks of provincial and territorial governments' responsibility for natural resources. These systems typically do not consider Aboriginal rights or title (even though recent court decisions have challenged the right of provincial and territorial governments to infringe treaty rights through tenure arrangements).

The National Aboriginal Forestry Association (NAFA) examined the extent of First Nation-held tenures across the country, with an allocation of nearly 12 million cubic metres per year, and classified these tenures into four groups (Brubacher 2003, 2007). We extended this classification, adding four more categories, including land trusts where custodial managers are obliged to act in order to meet objectives specified in a mandate (Weber et al. 2009). These objectives may vary, depending on the primary management purpose and the extent to which Aboriginal peoples are involved in planning and management.

Table 20. Types of forest tenures held by Aboriginal peoples

Form of collaborative arrangement	Principal characteristics (main user of form of collaboration)
Aboriginal-controlled lands	Aboriginal peoples hold management rights and responsibilities under treaty or law. (*Abor & Gov*)
Forest tenures designed by/with Aboriginal groups and held by them	Rights and responsibilities are delegated by governments under systems established by/with Aboriginal peoples. (*Abor & Gov*)
Trusts	Title is delegated to a trustee who manages the land for Aboriginal beneficiaries to meet specific goals. (*Abor & Gov*)
Long-term area-based (NAFA* class 1)	Long-term rights and responsibilities for harvesting and/or managing a defined area; large scale. (*Abor & Gov*)
Significant volume (NAFA class 2)	Long-term rights to harvest a specified volume of timber; possibility of management responsibilities. (*Abor & Gov, possibly Indust*)
Short-term/enterprise (NAFA class 3)	Short-term allocation, usually of a specified timber volume, to an Aboriginal community or enterprise. (*Abor, Gov & Indust*)
Minor and special (NAFA class 4)	Usually short-term permits to harvest specified products under strict conditions (includes firewood and NTFPs**). (*Abor, Gov & Indust*)
New and emerging tenures	Control and management for innovative forest uses, such as biodiversity, carbon offsets, ecological services and NTFPs. (*Abor & Gov*)

*NAFA = National Aboriginal Forestry Association

**NTFPs = non-timber forest products

Economic and commercial roles and activities

For many Aboriginal peoples, the forest industry provides opportunities for income (individually and for the community), economic development, political autonomy, employment and for managing forest lands. Wilson and Graham (2005) estimated that 1500 Aboriginal firms were involved in forestry across Canada in 2002. This number has almost certainly increased since then. Other research projects, such as Trosper et al. (2007) and Hickey and Nelson (2005), examined factors that affect Aboriginal participation in Canada's forest industry. Forest tenures (the approach described above) are often seen as an economic role. However, we observed that some communities develop extensive economic partnerships without holding tenure, while others obtain forest tenure and then subcontract the harvesting rights to non-Aboriginal parties (see Table 21). Different types of activities have different requirements in human, financial and material resources. Aboriginal businesses can also adopt different structures, including individual companies, communal enterprises and joint ventures with non-Aboriginal organizations.

Table 21. Economic and commercial roles and activities for Aboriginal peoples in forestry

Form of collaborative arrangement	Principal characteristics (main user of form of collaboration)
Primary and secondary transformation	Industrial facilities to transform forest products: sawmills, paper mills, value-added products and NTFPs.* (*Abor, Gov & Indust*)
Forestry planning activities	Specialist management services, usually under contract, such as inventories, planning and community assessments. (*Abor & Indust*)
Harvesting and management operations	Operational activities, usually under contract, such as road construction, logging and monitoring. (*Abor, Gov & Indust*)
Silviculture and protection operations	Labour-intensive activities, usually under contract, such as planting, thinning, reclamation and firefighting. (*Abor, Gov & Indust*)
Employment and training agreements	Agreements between communities and companies or agencies to employ Aboriginal individuals, often including training. (*Abor & Indust*)
Revenue and profit-sharing agreements	Agreements to obtain royalty payments, cutting rights or profit sharing from either government or industry. (*Abor, Gov & Indust*)
Access costs	Payments associated with gaining access to the resource, including impact benefits and compensation. (Abor, Gov & Indust)
Indirect opportunities	Mechanical services, transportation, operation of forestry camps, etc. (*Abor & Indust*)
Non-timber forest products	Eco-tourism, carbon credits / offsets, environmental service payments, commercialization of non-timber forest products. (*Abor, Gov & Indust*)

Business ownership types

Form of collaborative arrangement	Principal characteristics (main user of form of collaboration)
Nation- or community-owned non-profits	Communal organizations that distribute benefits to an Aboriginal community.
Aboriginal businesses, partnerships and cooperatives	Commercial organizations that are controlled by Aboriginal peoples, individually or collectively.
Aboriginal – non-Aboriginal joint ventures	Business owned jointly by Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal enterprises; control usually determined by shareholdings.

*NTFPs = non-timber forest products

Appendix 3 Provincial and territorial maps and tables of their forms of collaborative arrangements

British Columbia

Map 1. Aboriginal communities in British Columbia
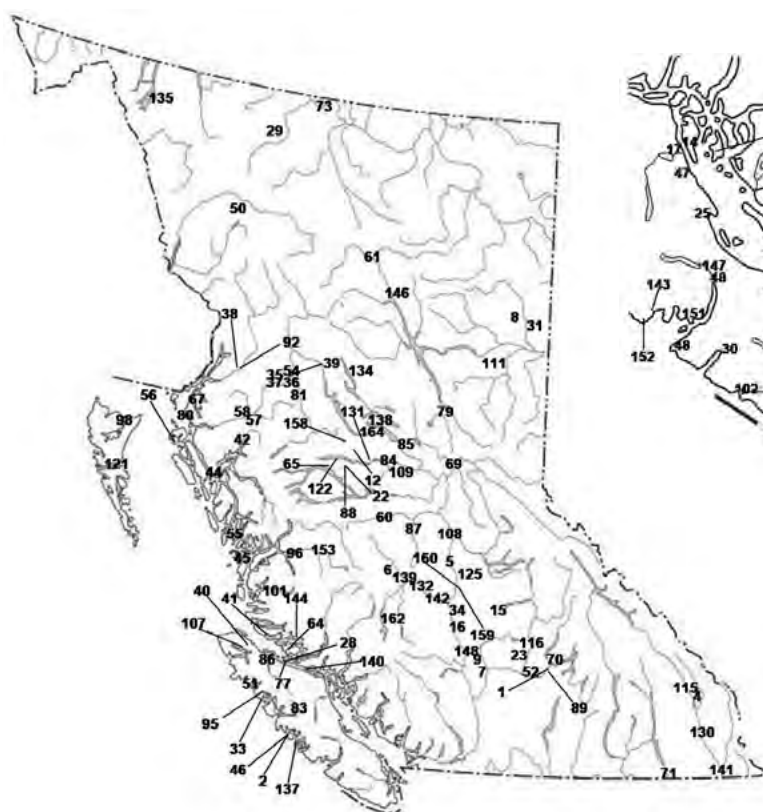
Map 2. Aboriginal communities in southern coastal British Columbia
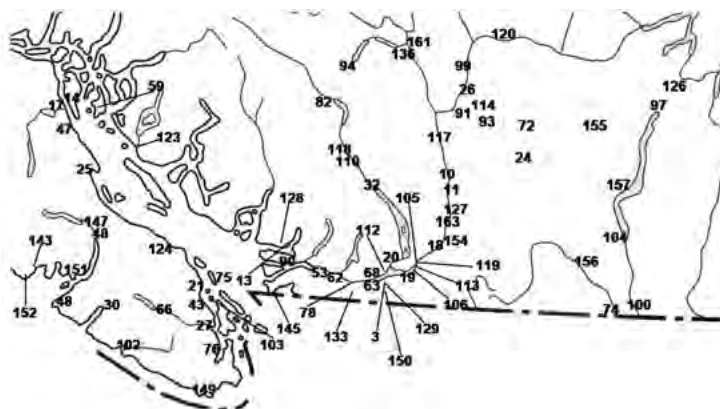
Table 22. Identified forms of collaboration for each community in British Columbia

Indicator on Map 1 or 2	Community	Agreement	Tenure	Economic	Mapping	Decision
1	Adams Lake Indian Band	X	X	X		
2	Ahousaht First Nation	X	X	X		
3	Aitchelitz Band	X	X	X		
4	Akisq'nuk First Nation (Columbia Lake Indian Band)	X	X	X		
5	Alexandria Indian Band	X	X	X		
6	Alexis Creek (Tsi Del Del)	X	X	X		
7	Ashcroft Indian Band	X	X	X		
8	Blueberry River First Nations	X	X	X		
9	Bonaparte Indian Bands	X	X	X		
10	Boothroyd Indian Bands		X	X		
11	Boston Bar First Nation	X	X	X		
12	Burns Lake Indian Band (Ts'il Kaz Koh First Nation)	X	X	X		
13	Burrard Inlet Band (Tsleil-Waututh First Nation)	X	X	X		
14	Campbell River Indian Band	X	X	X		
15	Canim Lake Indian Band	X	X	X		
16	Canoe Creek Indian Band	X	X	X		
17	Cape Mudge Band	X	X	X		
18	Chawathil Band	X	X	X		
19	Cheam Indian Band	X	X	X		
20	Chehalis Indian Band	X	X	X		
21	Chemainus First Nation	X	X	X		
22	Cheslatta Indian Band	X	X	X		
23	Clinton/Whispering Pines Band	X	X	X		
24	Coldwater Indian Band	X	X	X		
25	Comox Indian Band (K'ómoks First Nation)	X	X	X		
26	Cook's Ferry Indian Band	X	X	X		
27	Cowichan Tribes		X	X		
28	Da'naxda'xw First Nation	X	X	X		
29	Dease River Band Council	X				
30	Ditidaht First Nation	X	X	X		
31	Doig River First Nation		X	X		
32	Douglas First Nations	X	X	X		
33	Ehattesaht First Nation	X	X	X		
34	Esketemc First Nation	X	X	X		

Table 22. Identified forms of collaboration for each community in British Columbia (continued)

Indicator on Map 1 or 2	Community	Agreement	Tenure	Economic	Mapping	Decision
35	Gitanyow Hereditary Chiefs	X	X	X		
36	Gitsegukla Indian Band	X	X	X		
37	Gitwangak Band Council	X	X	X		
38	Gitwinksihlkw Village Government		X	X		
39	Glen Vowell Indian Band	X	X	X		
40	Gwa'sala-'Nakwaxda'xw Nation	X	X	X		
41	Gwawaenuk Tribe	X	X	X		
42	Haisla Nation	X	X	X		
43	Halalt First Nation	X	X	X		
44	Hartley Bay Village Council (Gitga'at First Nation)	X	X	X		
45	Heiltsuk Nation	X	X	X		
46	Hesquiaht First Nation		X			
47	Homalco Indian Band		X	X	X	
48	Hupacasath First Nation	X	X	X		
49	Huu-ay-aht First Nation (Ohiaht)	X	X	X		
50	Iskut First Nation		X	X		
51	Ka:'yu:'k't'h'/Che:k:tles7et'h' First Nations	X	X	X		
52	Kamloops Indian Band	X	X	X		
53	Katzie First Nation	X	X			
54	Kispiox Band Council	X	X	X		
55	Kitasoo Band Council	X	X	X		
56	Kitkatla/Gitxaala First Nation	X	X			
57	Kitselas Indian Band	X	X	X		
58	Kitsumkalum Band	X	X	X		
59	Klahoose First Nation	X	X	X		
60	Kluskus Indian Band (Lhoosk'uz Dene' Government Administration)	X	X	X		
61	Kwadacha Band	X	X	X		
62	Kwantlen First Nation	X	X			
63	Kwaw-kwaw-a-pilt First Nation	X	X			
64	Kwicksutaineuk/Ah-Kwa-Mish Tribes	X	X			
65	Lake Babine Nation	X	X	X		
66	Lake Cowichan First Nation	X	X			
67	Lax Kw'alaams Indian Band	X	X	X		
68	Leq' a:mel	X	X			

ABORIGINAL AND NON-ABORIGINAL COLLABORATION IN FORESTRY: AN INVENTORY OF PRACTICES ACROSS CANADA | FORTIER ET AL. 2012
A STATE OF KNOWLEDGE REPORT SUPPLEMENT | SUSTAINABLE FOREST MANAGEMENT NETWORK

61

Table 22. **Identified forms of collaboration for each community in British Columbia (continued)**

Indicator on Map 1 or 2	Community	Agreement	Tenure	Economic	Mapping	Decision
69	Lheidli-T'enneh Band	X	X			
70	Little Shuswap Indian Band	X	X	X		
71	Lower Kootenay Indian Band	X	X	X		
72	Lower Nicola Indian Band	X	X	X		
73	Lower Post First Nation	X				
74	Lower Similkameen Indian Band	X	X	X		
75	Lyackson First Nations	X	X			
76	Malahat Indian Band	X	X			
77	Mamalilikulla-Qwe'Qwa'Sot'Em Band	X	X			
78	Matsqui First Nation	X	X			
79	McLeod Lake Indian Band	X	X			
80	Metlakatla Band	X	X	X		
81	Moricetown Band Administration	X	X	X		
82	Mount Currie Band Council (Lil'wat First Nation)	X	X	X		
83	Mowachaht/Muchalaht First Nations	X	X	X		
84	Nadleh Whut'en Band	X	X	X		
85	Nak'azdli Indian Band	X	X	X		
86	Namgis First Nation	X	X			
87	Nazko First Nation	X	X	X		
88	Nee-Tahi-Buhn Band	X	X	X		
89	Neskonlith Indian Band	X	X	X		
90	New Westminster Indian Band		X	X		
91	Nicomen Indian Band	X	X	X		
92	Nisga'a Lisims Government	X	X	X	X	X
93	Nooaitch Indian Band	X	X	X		
94	N'Quatqua Band	X	X	X		
95	Nuchatlaht First Nation	X	X			
96	Nuxalk Nation	X	X	X		
97	Okanagan Indian Band	X	X	X		
98	Old Masset Village Council	X	X	X		
99	Oregon Jack Creek Band	X				
100	Osoyoos Indian Band	X	X	X		
101	Oweekeno/Wuikinuxv Nation	X	X	X		
102	Pacheedaht First Nation	X	X			

Table 22. Identified forms of collaboration for each community in British Columbia (continued)

Indicator on Map 1 or 2	Community	Agreement	Tenure	Economic	Mapping	Decision
103	Penelakut Indian Band	X	X			
104	Penticton Indian Band	X	X	X		
105	Peters Band	X	X			
106	Popkum Band	X	X			
107	Quatsino First Nation	X	X	X		
108	Red Bluff Indian Band / Lhtako Dene Nation	X	X	X		
109	Saik'uz First Nation	X	X	X		
110	Samahquam First Nation	X	X	X		
111	Saulteau First Nations		X	X		
112	Scowlitz First Nation	X	X	X		
113	Seabird Island Band	X	X			
114	Shackan Indian Band	X	X	X		
115	Shuswap Indian Band	X	X	X		
116	Simpcw (North Thompson Indian Band)	X	X	X		
117	Siska Indian Band	X	X	X		
118	Skatin First Nations	X	X	X		
119	Skawahlook First Nation	X	X			
120	Skeetchestn Indian Band	X	X	X		
121	Skidegate Band Council	X	X	X		
122	Skin Tyee Band	X	X			
123	Sliammon First Nation	X	X	X		
124	Snaw-Naw-As Treaty Office (formerly Nanoose)	X	X			
125	Soda Creek Indian Band	X	X	X		
126	Splats'in First Nation	X	X	X		
127	Spuzzum First Nation		X	X		
128	Squamish First Nation	X	X	X		
129	Squiala First Nation	X	X			
130	St. Mary's Indian Band	X	X	X		
131	Stellat'en First Nation	X	X	X		
132	Stone Indian Band (Yunesit'in)	X	X			
133	Sumas First Nation	X	X			
134	Takla Lake First Nation	X	X	X		
135	Taku River Tlingit First Nation	X	X			
136	T'it'q'et Administration	X	X			

ABORIGINAL AND NON-ABORIGINAL COLLABORATION IN FORESTRY: AN INVENTORY OF PRACTICES ACROSS CANADA | FORTIER ET AL. 2012
A STATE OF KNOWLEDGE REPORT SUPPLEMENT | SUSTAINABLE FOREST MANAGEMENT NETWORK

63

Table 22. Identified forms of collaboration for each community in British Columbia (continued)

Indicator on Map 1 or 2	Community	Agreement	Tenure	Economic	Mapping	Decision
137	Tla-o-qui-aht First Nation (Clayoquot Indian Band)	X	X	X		
138	Tl'azt'en Nation	X	X	X		
139	Tl'etinqox-t'in Band	X	X	X		
140	Tlowitsis First Nation	X	X	X		
141	Tobacco Plains Indian Band	X	X	X		
142	Toosey Indian Band		X	X		
143	Toquaht First Nation	X	X	X		
144	Tsawataineuk Indian Band	X	X	X		
145	Tsawwassen First Nation	X		X		
146	Tsay Keh Dene Band	X	X	X		
147	Tseshaht First Nation	X	X	X		
148	Ts'kw'aylaxw First Nation	X	X			
149	T'Sou-ke Nation	X	X			
150	Tzeachten First Nation	X	X			
151	Uchucklesaht Tribe	X	X			
152	Ucluelet First Nation	X	X			
153	Ulkatcho First Nations	X	X	X		
154	Union Bar Indian Band	X	X			
155	Upper Nicola Band	X	X	X		
156	Upper Similkameen Indian Band	X	X	X		
157	Westbank First Nation	X	X	X		
158	Wet'suwet'en First Nation	X	X	X		
159	Williams Lake Indian Band	X	X	X		
160	Xats'úll First Nation	X	X			
161	Xaxli'p First Nation	X	X			
162	Xeni Gwet'in First Nations	X	X			
163	Yale First Nation	X	X			
164	Yekooche First Nation	X	X	X		
Total (communities)		**153**	**160**	**122**	**n/a**	**n/a**
Total (percentage of all communities)		**93%**	**98%**	**74%**	**n/a**	**n/a**

Alberta

Map 3. Aboriginal communities in Alberta

ABORIGINAL AND NON-ABORIGINAL COLLABORATION IN FORESTRY: AN INVENTORY OF PRACTICES ACROSS CANADA | FORTIER ET AL. 2012
A STATE OF KNOWLEDGE REPORT SUPPLEMENT | SUSTAINABLE FOREST MANAGEMENT NETWORK

65

Table 23. Identified forms of collaboration for each community in Alberta

Indicator on Map 3	Community	Agreement	Tenure	Economic	Mapping	Decision
1	Alexander First Nation			X	X	X
2	Alexis Nakota Sioux Nation	X		X	X	X
3	Beaver First Nation				X	X
4	Beaver Lake Cree Nation*					
5	Bigstone Cree Nation		X	X		
6	Blood Tribe		X	X	X	
7	Buffalo Lake Métis Settlement*					
8	Chipewyan Prairie First Nation			X	X	
9	Cold Lake First Nations			X	X	
10	Dene Tha' First Nation	X	X	X	X	X
11	Driftpile First Nation	X		X	X	X
12	Duncan's First Nation	X		X	X	X
13	East Prairie Métis Settlement					X
14	Elizabeth Métis Settlement*					
15	Fishing Lake Métis Settlement*					
16	Fort McMurray #468 First Nation			X	X	
17	Gift Lake Métis Settlement			X		X
18	Heart Lake First Nation			X		
19	Horse Lake First Nation	X		X	X	X
20	Kapawe'no First Nation	X			X	X
21	Kehewin Cree Nation*					
22	Kikino Métis Settlement*					
23	Little Red River Cree Nation	X	X	X		X
24	Loon River First Nation		X	X	X	
25	Lubicon Lake Band*					
26	O'Chiese First Nation					X
27	Paddle Prairie Métis Settlement	X		X		
28	Paul First Nation					
29	Peavine Métis Settlement			X		X
30	Piikani Nation			X	X	
31	Saddle Lake First Nation			X		
32	Sawridge First Nation	X			X	X
33	Siksika Nation					X
34	Smith's Landing First Nation*					

Table 23. Identified forms of collaboration for each community in Alberta (continued)

Indicator on Map 3	Community	Agreement	Tenure	Economic	Mapping	Decision
35	Stoney First Nation			X		X
36	Sturgeon Lake Cree Nation	X		X	X	X
37	Sucker Creek First Nation	X			X	X
38	Sunchild First Nation				X	X
39	Swan River First Nation	X			X	X
40	Tallcree First Nation	X	X	X		X
41	Trout Lake / Peerless First Nation	X		X		
42	Tsuu T'Ina Nation			X		X
43	Whitefish (Goodfish) Lake First Nation	X	X	X		X
44	Woodland Cree First Nation		X	X		
Total (communities)		**15**	**8**	**26**	**19**	**23**
Total (percentage of all communities)		**34%**	**18%**	**59%**	**43%**	**52%**

* Only cases of capacity building have been surveyed for these communities.

ABORIGINAL AND NON-ABORIGINAL COLLABORATION IN FORESTRY: AN INVENTORY OF PRACTICES ACROSS CANADA | FORTIER ET AL. 2012
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67

Saskatchewan

Map 4. Aboriginal communities in Saskatchewan

Table 24. Identified forms of collaboration for each community in Saskatchewan

Indicator on Map 4	Community	Agreement	Tenure	Economic	Mapping	Decision
1	Beauval (Métis)	X	X	X		X
2	Big Island Lake Cree Nation				X	X
3	Big River First Nation			X		X
4	Birch Narrows (Métis)		X	X	X	
5	Buffalo Narrows	X				X
6	Buffalo River Dene Nation		X	X	X	
7	Canoe Lake Cree First Nation	X	X	X	X	X
8	Chitek Lake (Métis)					X
9	Clearwater River Dene Nation		X	X	X	
10	Cole Bay (Métis)	X				X
11	Cumberland House Cree Nation				X	
12	Deschambault Lake Indian Settlement					X
13	English River First Nation		X	X	X	X
14	Flying Dust First Nation		X	X	X	
15	Green Lake (Métis)		X	X		X
16	Wolluston Lake / Hatchet Lake First Nation					
17	Île-à-la-Crosse (Métis)	X	X	X		X
18	Island Lake First Nation		X	X	X	
19	James Smith Cree Nation			X		
20	Jans Bay (Métis)	X				X
21	La Loche (Métis)					X
22	Lac La Ronge (Métis)		X	X		
23	Makwa Sahgaiehcan First Nation		X	X	X	
24	Michel Village (Métis)	X				X
25	Montreal Lake Cree Nation		X	X		
26	Patuanak (Métis)		X	X		
27	Pelican Lake First Nation			X		
28	Peter Ballantyne Cree Nation		X	X	X	
29	Pinehouse (Métis)		X	X	X	
30	St. George's Hill (Métis)	X				X
31	Waterhen Lake First Nation	X	X	X	X	X
32	Witchekan Lake First Nation			X		
Total (communities)		**9**	**17**	**21**	**13**	**16**
Total (percentage of all communities)		**28%**	**53%**	**66%**	**41%**	**50%**

ABORIGINAL AND NON-ABORIGINAL COLLABORATION IN FORESTRY: AN INVENTORY OF PRACTICES ACROSS CANADA | FORTIER ET AL. 2012
A STATE OF KNOWLEDGE REPORT SUPPLEMENT | SUSTAINABLE FOREST MANAGEMENT NETWORK

69

Manitoba

Map 5. Aboriginal communities in Manitoba
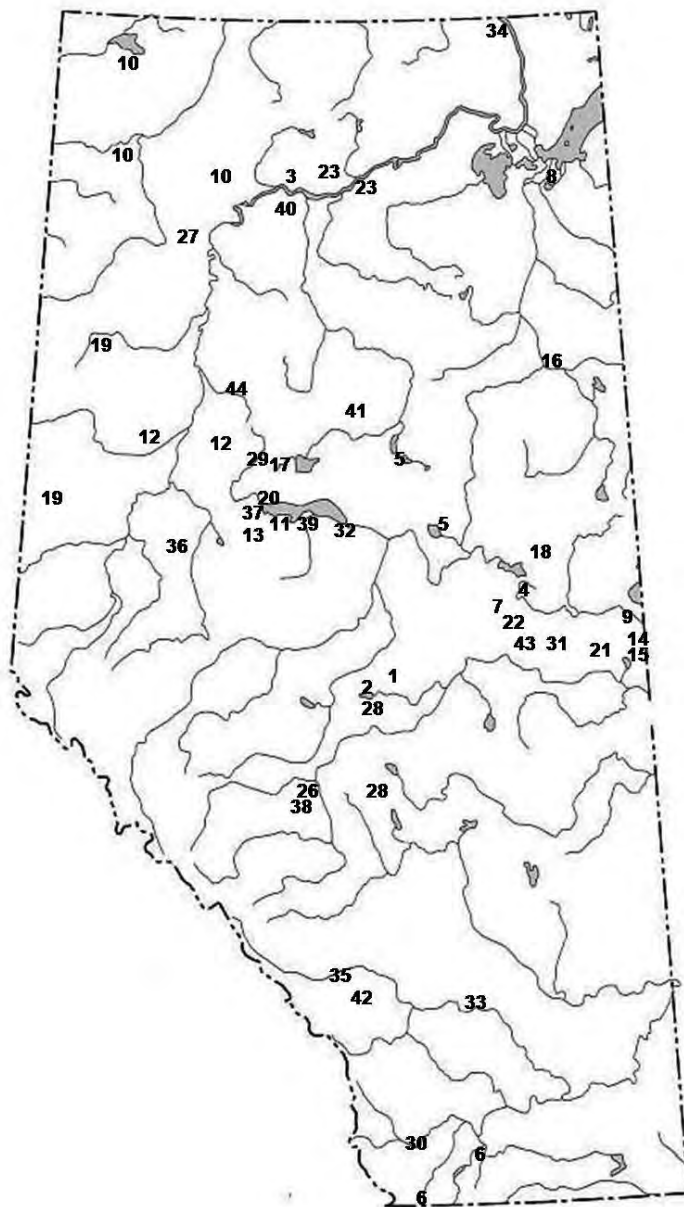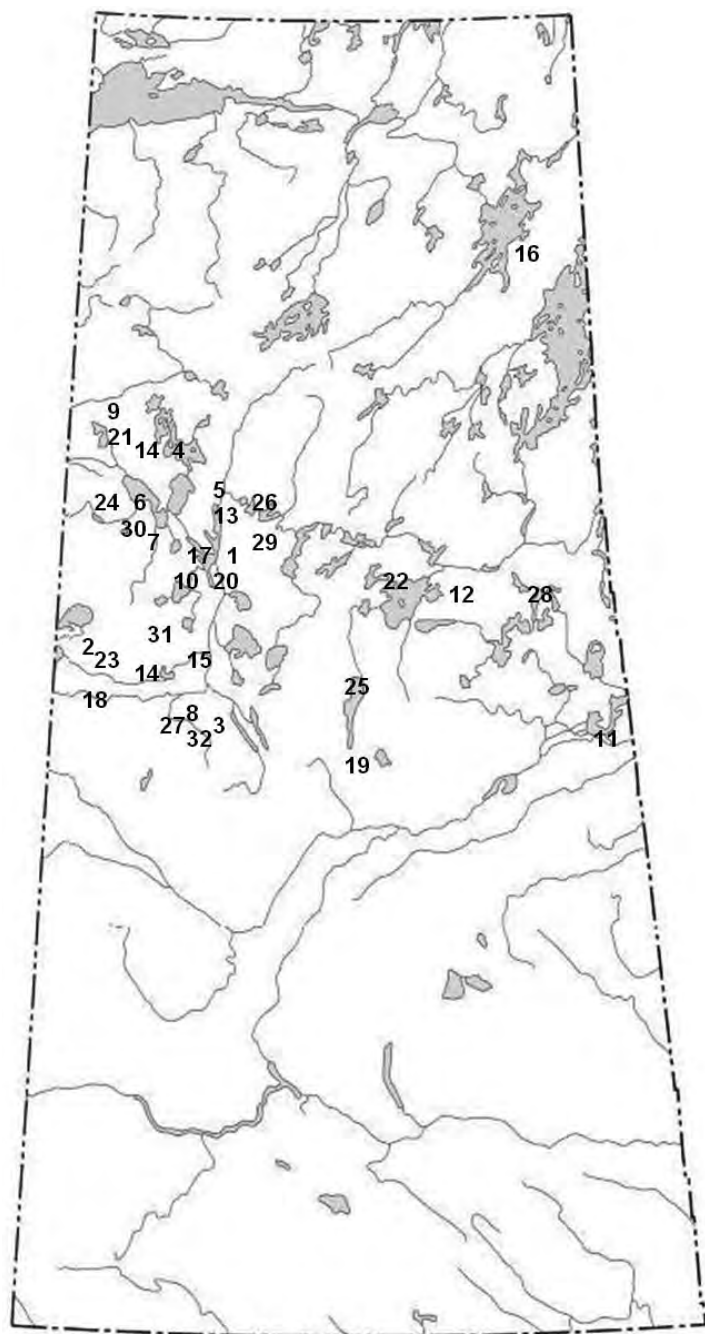
Table 25. Identified forms of collaboration for each community in Manitoba

Indicator on Map 5	Community	Agreement	Tenure	Economic	Mapping	Decision
1	Berens River First Nation	X		X	X	
2	Bloodvein First Nation	X	X	X	X	X
3	Brokenhead Ojibway Band	X	X			
4	Buffalo Point First Nation		X			
5	Chemawawin First Nation	X	X	X		
6	Cross Lake First Nation*					
7	Dauphin River First Nation	X	X	X		
8	Ebb and Flow First Nation				X	
9	Fisher River First Nation	X	X			X
10	Gambler First Nation				X	
11	Garden Hill First Nation				X	
12	God's Lake First Nation	X			X	X
13	God's River (Manto Sipi Cree) First Nation	X			X	X
14	Misipawistik (Grand Rapids) First Nation	X	X			
15	Hollow Water First Nation				X	
16	Keeseekoowenin First Nation				X	
17	Kinonjeoshtegon (Jackhead) First Nation		X			
18	Lake Manitoba First Nation	X	X			
19	Lake St. Martin First Nation		X			
20	[Little] Black River First Nation			X	X	X
21	Little Grand Rapids First Nation	X	X		X	X
22	Little Saskatchewan First Nation	X	X	X		
23	Long Plain First Nation	X				
24	Marcel Colomb First Nation	X	X			
25	Mathias Colomb First Nation	X	X			
26	Mosakahiken Cree Nation	X			X	
27	Norway House Cree Nation	X			X	X
28	Oak Lake (Canupawakpa Dakota*) First Nation					
29	O-Chi-Chak-Ko-Sipi (Crane River) First Nation				X	
30	Opaskwayak Cree Nation	X	X			
31	Oxford House (Bunibonibee Cree) First Nation	X			X	X
32	Pauingassi First Nation	X	X		X	
33	Peguis First Nation	X	X			
34	Pinaymootang (Fairford) First Nation	X	X			

ABORIGINAL AND NON-ABORIGINAL COLLABORATION IN FORESTRY: AN INVENTORY OF PRACTICES ACROSS CANADA | FORTIER ET AL. 2012
A STATE OF KNOWLEDGE REPORT SUPPLEMENT | SUSTAINABLE FOREST MANAGEMENT NETWORK

71

Table 25. Identified forms of collaboration for each community in Manitoba (continued)

Indicator on Map 5	Community	Agreement	Tenure	Economic	Mapping	Decision
35	Pine Creek First Nation				X	
36	Poplar River First Nation		X		X	
37	Red Sucker Lake First Nation				X	
38	Rolling River First Nation				X	
39	Roseau River Anishinabe First Nation	X				
40	Sapotaweyak Cree Nation	X	X			
41	Sagkeeng (Fort Alexander) First Nation	X	X			X
42	Shoal Lake 40				X	
43	Skownan (Waterhen) First Nation	X	X		X	
44	South Indian Lake O-Pipon-Na-Piwin Cree Nation*					
45	St. Theresa Point First Nation				X	
46	Swan Lake First Nation	X				
47	Tootinaowaziibeeng Treaty Reserve				X	
48	Wasagamack First Nation				X	
49	Waywayseecappo First Nation*					
50	Wuskwi Sipihk First Nation	X	X			
Total (communities)		**28**	**23**	**6**	**25**	**9**
Total (percentage of all communities)		**56%**	**46%**	**12%**	**50%**	**18%**

* Only cases of capacity building have been surveyed for these communities.

Ontario

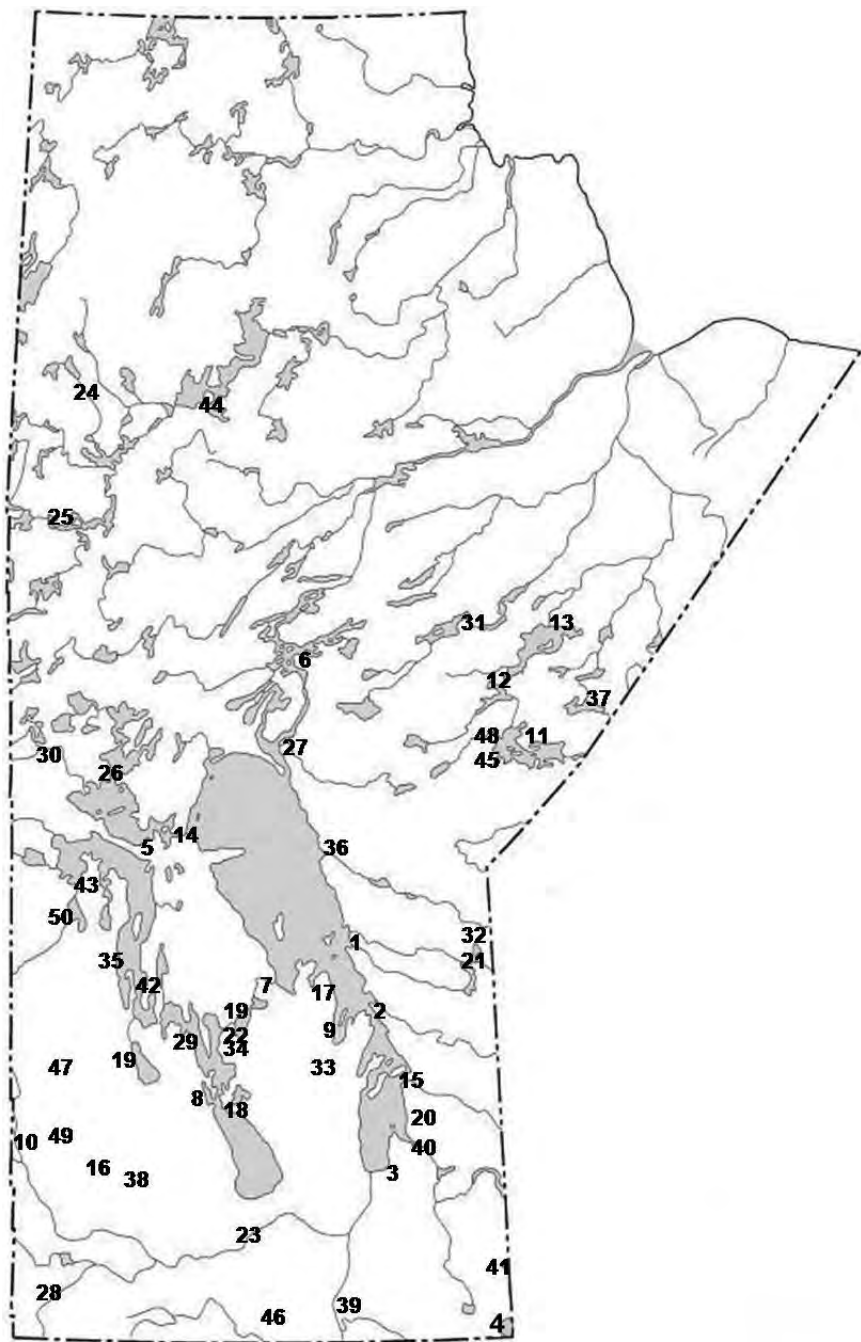**Map 6.** Aboriginal communities in Ontario
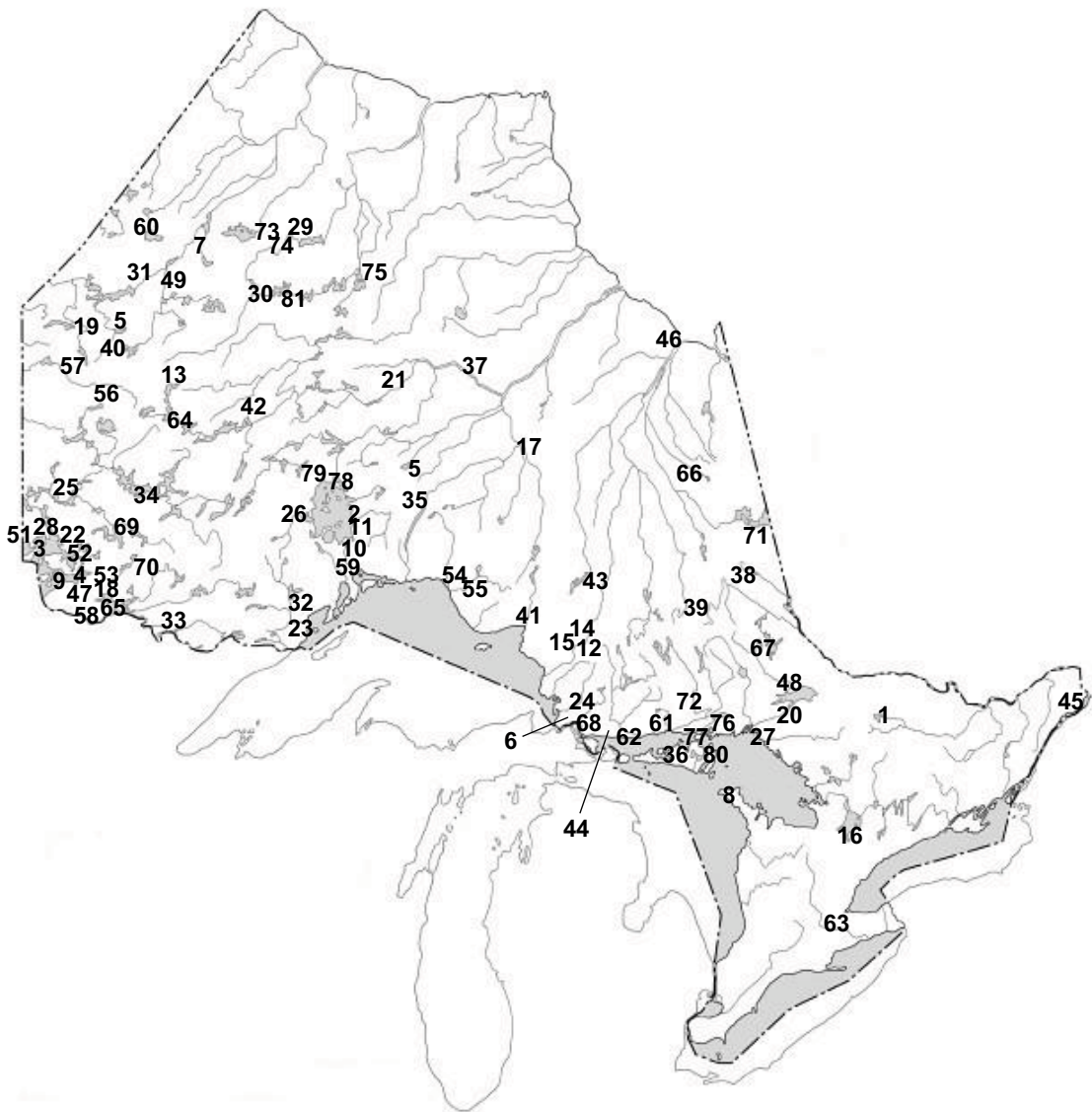
Table 26. Identified forms of collaboration for each community in Ontario

Indicator on Map 6	Community	Agreement	Tenure	Economic	Mapping	Decision
1	Algonquins of Pikwakanagan	X	X	X		
2	Animbiigoo Zaagi'igan Anishinaabek		X	X		X
3	Anishinabe of Wauzhushk Onigum				X	
4	Anishnaabeg of Naongashiing				X	
5	Aroland		X	X		X
6	Batchewana First Nation			X		
7	Bearskin Lake First Nation	X			X	X
8	Beausoleil		X			
9	Big Grassy				X	
10	Biinjitiwaabik Zaaging Anishinaabek	X	X	X		
11	Bingwi Neyaashi Anishinaabek			X		
12	Brunswick House First Nation			X		
13	Cat Lake	X	X	X	X	X
14	Chapleau Cree First Nation			X		
15	Chapleau Ojibway			X		
16	Chippewas of Georgina Island			X		
17	Constance Lake		X	X		X
18	Couchiching First Nation			X		
19	Deer Lake First Nation					X
20	Dokis			X		
21	Eabametoong		X	X		X
22	Eagle Lake		X			
23	Fort William			X		
24	Garden River First Nation			X		
25	Grassy Narrows					X
26	Gull Bay		X			
27	Henvey Inlet First Nation			X		
28	Iskatewizaagegan #39 Independent First Nation		X			
29	Kasabonika Lake First Nation	X				X
30	Kingfisher Lake First Nation	X				X
31	Koocheching First Nation (Sandy Lake)	X				X
32	Lac Des Mille Lacs	X		X		
33	Lac La Croix			X		
34	Lac Seul		X	X		

Table 26. **Identified forms of collaboration for each community in Ontario (continued)**

Indicator on Map 6	Community	Agreement	Tenure	Economic	Mapping	Decision
35	Long Lake No. 58 First Nation			X		
36	M'Chigeeng First Nation			X		
37	Marten Falls		X	X		X
38	Matachewan		X	X		
39	Mattagami			X		
40	McDowell Lake					X
41	Michipicoten			X		
42	Mishkeegogamang				X	X
43	Missanabie Cree	X		X		
44	Mississauga			X		
45	Mohawks of Akwesasne					X
46	Moose Cree First Nation	X	X	X		X
47	Naicatchewenin			X		
48	Nipissing First Nation			X		
49	North Caribou Lake	X				X
50	North Spirit Lake					X
51	Northwest Angle No. 33				X	
52	Northwest Angle No. 37				X	
53	Ojibways of Onigaming First Nation				X	
54	Ojibways of the Pic River First Nation		X	X		
55	Pic Mobert		X			
56	Pikangikum		X	X		X
57	Poplar Hill					X
58	Rainy River First Nations			X	X	
59	Red Rock			X		
60	Sachigo Lake	X				X
61	Sagamok Anishnawbek		X	X		
62	Serpent River			X		
63	Six Nations of the Grand River				X	
64	Slate Falls Nation	X	X	X	X	X
65	Stanjikoming First Nation		X			
66	Taykwa Tagamou Nation	X		X		
67	Temagami First Nation			X		
68	Thessalon			X		

Table 26. Identified forms of collaboration for each community in Ontario (continued)

Indicator on Map 6	Community	Agreement	Tenure	Economic	Mapping	Decision
69	Wabaseemoong Independent Nations		X		X	X
70	Wabigoon Lake Ojibway Nation		X	X		
71	Wahgoshig	X	X	X		
72	Wahnapitae		X	X		
73	Wapekeka First Nation	X				X
74	Wawakapewin First Nation	X				X
75	Webequie			X		
76	Whitefish Lake		X	X		
77	Whitefish River			X		
78	Whitesand			X		
79	Whitewater Lake	X				X
80	Wikwemikong		X	X		
81	Wunnumin Lake First Nations	X				X
	Total (communities)	**19**	**27**	**50**	**14**	**27**
	Total (percentage of all communities)	**23%**	**33%**	**62%**	**17%**	**33%**

Quebec

Map 7. Aboriginal communities in Quebec
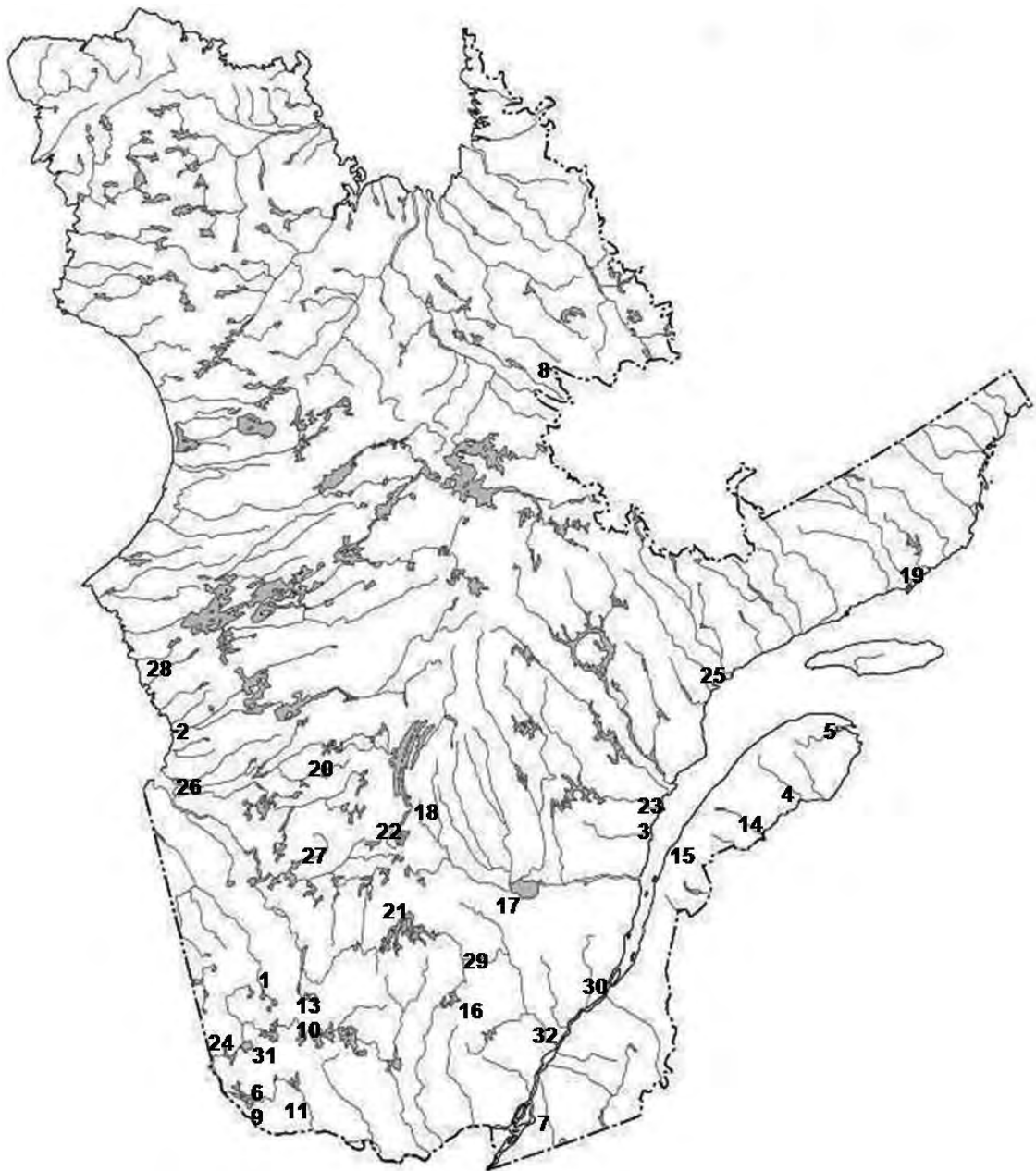
Table 27. Identified forms of collaboration for each community in Quebec

Indicator on Map 6	Community	Agreement	Tenure	Economic	Mapping	Decision
1	Abitibiwinni (Pikogan)	X		X	X	X
2	Eastmain	X		X		X
3	Essipit	X		X	X	X
4	Gesgapegiag	X	X	X		X
5	Gespeg		X	X		
6	Hunter's Point (Wolf Lake)					X
7	Kahnawake				X	
8	Kawawachikamach			X		
9	Kipawa (Eagle Village)					X
10	Kitcisakik	X			X	X
11	Kitigan Zibi		X	X		X
12	Lac-Barrière	X				X
13	Lac Simon	X				X
14	Listuguj		X	X		
15	Malécites de Viger					X
16	Manawan	X	X	X	X	X
17	Mashteuiatsh	X	X	X	X	X
18	Mistissini	X	X	X		X
19	Natashquan	X		X	X	X
20	Nemiscau	X		X		X
21	Opitciwan		X	X	X	X
22	Oujé-Bougoumou	X		X		X
23	Pessamit (Betsiamites)	X	X	X	X	X
24	Timiskaming			X	X	X
25	Uashat-Maliotenam		X	X		X
26	Waskaganish	X		X		X
27	Waswanipi	X	X	X	X	X
28	Wemindji	X		X		X
29	Wemotaci		X	X		X
30	Wendake	X		X	X	X
31	Winneway (Longue-Pointe)				X	X
32	Wôlinak	X				X
Total (communities)		**19**	**12**	**23**	**13**	**28**
Total (percentage of all communities)		**59%**	**38%**	**72%**	**41%**	**88%**

ABORIGINAL AND NON-ABORIGINAL COLLABORATION IN FORESTRY: AN INVENTORY OF PRACTICES ACROSS CANADA | FORTIER ET AL. 2012
A STATE OF KNOWLEDGE REPORT SUPPLEMENT | SUSTAINABLE FOREST MANAGEMENT NETWORK

Atlantic provinces

Map 8. Aboriginal communities in New Brunswick
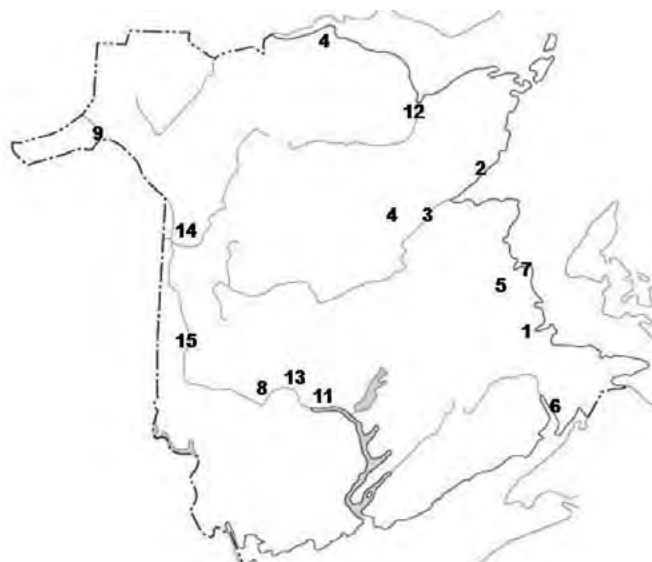
Map 9. Aboriginal communities in Newfoundland and Labrador

Map 10. Aboriginal communities in Nova Scotia
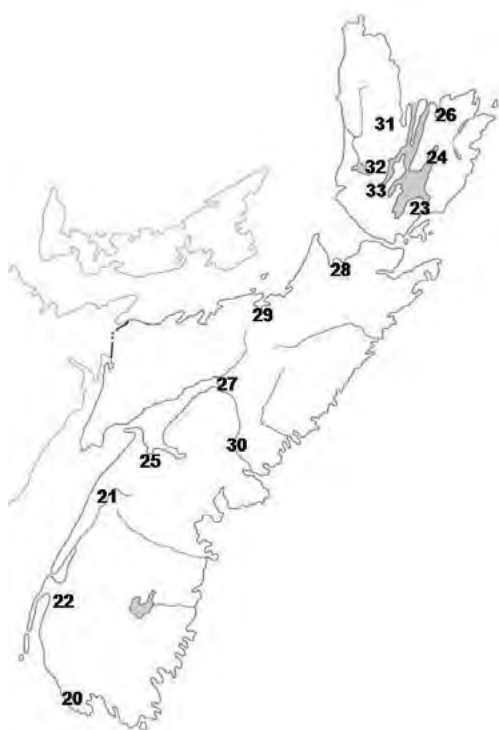
Map 11. Aboriginal communities in Prince Edward Island

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79

Table 28. Identified forms of collaboration for each community in the Atlantic provinces

Province	Indicator on Map 8, 9, 10 or 11	Community	Agreement	Tenure	Mapping	Economic	Decision
New Brunswick	1	Buctouche		X		X	
New Brunswick	2	Burnt Church		X		X	
New Brunswick	3	Eel Ground		X	X	X	
New Brunswick	4	Eel River Bar		X	X	X	
New Brunswick	5	Elsipogtog (Big Cove)		X		X	
New Brunswick	6	Fort Folly		X		X	
New Brunswick	7	Indian Island		X		X	
New Brunswick	8	Kingsclear		X		X	
New Brunswick	9	Madawaska		X		X	
New Brunswick	10	Metepenagiag (Red Bank)		X		X	
New Brunswick	11	Oromocto		X		X	
New Brunswick	12	Pabineau		X		X	
New Brunswick	13	Saint Mary's		X		X	
New Brunswick	14	Tobique		X		X	
New Brunswick	15	Woodstock		X		X	
Newfoundland and Labrador	16	Miawpukek First Nation		X		X	X
Newfoundland and Labrador	17	Natuashish	X	X	X		X
Newfoundland and Labrador	18	Postville				X	
Newfoundland and Labrador	19	Sheshatshiu (Innu Nation)	X	X	X		X
Nova Scotia	20	Acadia				X	
Nova Scotia	21	Annapolis Valley			X	X	X
Nova Scotia	22	Bear River			X	X	X
Nova Scotia	23	Chapel Island First Nation	X		X	X	
Nova Scotia	24	Eskasoni	X		X	X	
Nova Scotia	25	Glooscap			X	X	X
Nova Scotia	26	Membertou	X		X	X	

Table 28. Identified forms of collaboration for each community in the Atlantic provinces (continued)

Province	Indicator on Map 8, 9, 10 or 11	Community	Agreement	Tenure	Mapping	Economic	Decision
Nova Scotia	27	Millbrook			X	X	X
Nova Scotia	28	Paq'tnkek			X	X	X
Nova Scotia	29	Pictou Landing	X	X	X	X	X
Nova Scotia	30	Shubenacadie				X	
Nova Scotia	31	Wagmatcook	X		X	X	
Nova Scotia	32	Waycobah/We'koqma'q	X		X	X	
Prince Edward Island	33	Abeqweit				X	
Prince Edward Island	34	Lennox Island				X	
Total (communities)			**8**	**19**	**15**	**32**	**9**
Total (percentage of all communities)			**23%**	**54%**	**43%**	**94%**	**26%**

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81

Northwest Territories

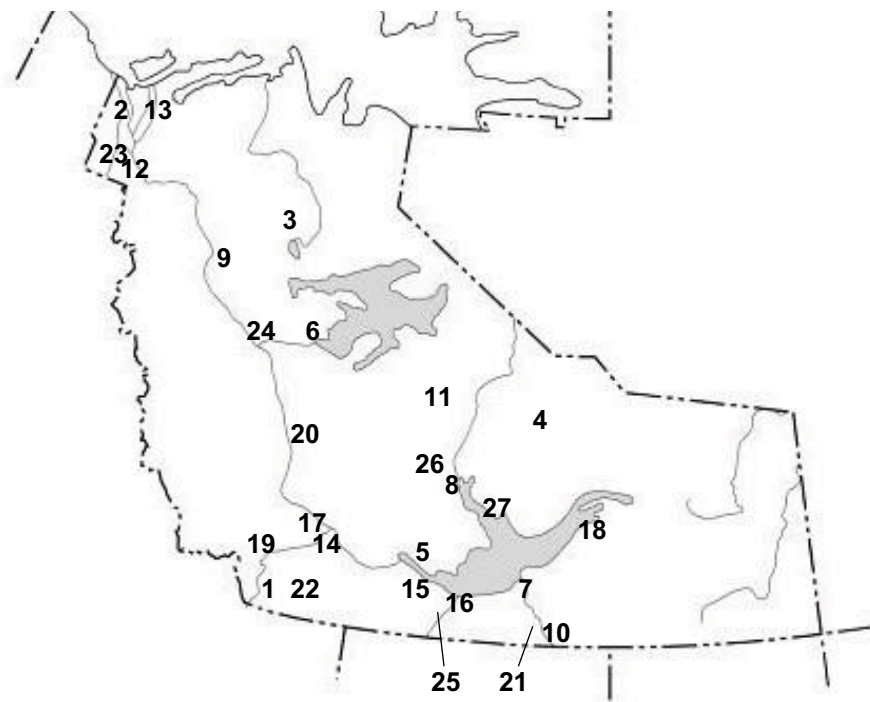**Map 12.** Aboriginal communities in the Northwest Territories

Table 29. Identified forms of collaboration for each community in the Northwest Territories

Indicator on Map 12	Community	Agreement	Tenure	Economic	Mapping	Decision
1	Acho Dene Koe	X	X			
2	Aklavik	X				
3	Behdzi Ahda" First Nation (Colville Lake)	X				
4	Dechi Laot'i First Nations	X				
5	Deh Gah Gotie Dene Council	X	X			
6	Deline First Nation	X				
7	Deninu K'ue First Nation	X				
8	Dog Rib Rae	X				
9	Fort Good Hope	X				
10	Fort Smith (Town)	X				
11	Gameti First Nation	X			X	
12	Gwichya Gwich'in	X				
13	Inuvik	X				
14	Jean Marie River First Nation	X	X			
15	Ka'a'gee Tu First Nation	X	X			
16	K'atlodeeche First Nation	X	X			
17	Liidlii Kue First Nation	X	X			
18	Lutsel K'e Dene First Nation	X				
19	Nahanni Butte	X	X			
20	Pehdzeh Ki First Nation	X	X			
21	Salt River First Nation #195	X				
22	Sambaa K'e (Trout Lake) Dene	X	X			
23	Tetlit Gwich'in (Fort McPherson)	X				
24	Tulita Dene Band (Fort Norman)	X			X	
25	West Point First Nation	X	X			
26	Wha Ti First Nation	X				
27	Yellowknives Dene First Nation	X				
Total (communities)		**27**	**10**	**0**	**2**	**0**
Total (percentage of all communities)		**100%**	**37%**	**0**	**7%**	**0**

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83

Yukon

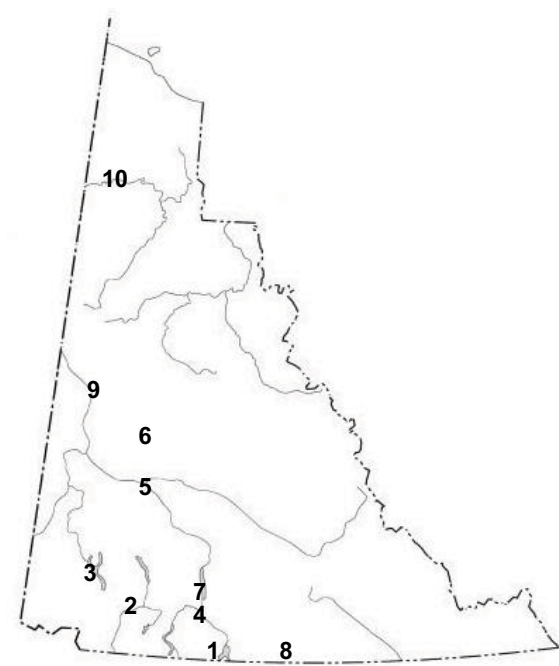**Map 13.** Aboriginal communities in Yukon

Table 30. Identified forms of collaboration for each community in Yukon

Indicator on Map 13	Community	Agreement	Tenure	Economic	Mapping	Decision
1	Carcross/Tagish First Nation	X	X		X	X
2	Champagne and Aishihik First Nations			X	X	X
3	Kluane First Nation	X	X		X	X
4	Kwanlin Dun First Nation	X	X		X	X
5	Little Salmon/Carmacks First Nation	X	X		X	X
6	Selkirk First Nation	X	X		X	X
7	Ta'an Kwach'an Council	X	X		X	X
8	Teslin Tlingit Council	X	X		X	X
9	Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in First Nation	X	X		X	X
10	Vuntut Gwitchin First Nation	X	X		X	X
Total (communities)		**9**	**9**	**1**	**10**	**10**
Total (percentage of all communities)		**90%**	**90%**	**10%**	**100%**	**100%**

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